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The weather at major Swissair destinations

| 5.2.1984 | MIN. | MAX. | C F C F |
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| BRUSSELS | 2 | 8 | 36 46 |
| BUEENOS AIRES | 10 | 24 | 50 75 |
| CHICAGO | 2 | 8 | 36 46 |
| COPENHAGEN | 1 | 4 | 34 39 |
| FRANKFURT | 1 | 4 | 34 39 |
| GENEVA | 6 | 13 | 43 55 |
| Helsinki | 4 | 11 | 39 52 |
| HONG KONG | 14 | 17 | 57 63 |
| LONDON | 15 | 24 | 59 75 |
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For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair.

Offices in Israel:
Tel Aviv: 41 Ben Yehuda St. (03) 2433 50
Jerusalem: 30 Jaffa St. (02) 2252 33
Haifa: 2 Sea Road (04) 84655

THE WEATHER

| Forecast: Partly cloudy. | Yesterday's Humidity | Yesterday's Min-Max | Today's Min-Max |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Jerusalem | 33 | 10-15 | 19 |
| Golan | 34 | 10-17 | 21 |
| Nahariya | 31 | 5-23 | 25 |
| Safed | 44 | 8-14 | 16 |
| Haifa Port | 41 | 12-21 | 25 |
| Tiberias | 36 | 9-24 | 26 |
| Nazareth | 35 | 10-17 | 21 |
| Afula | 40 | 8-22 | 24 |
| Shomron | 31 | 7-19 | 21 |
| Tel Aviv | 40 | 8-19 | 25 |
| B-G Airport | 45 | 6-23 | 26 |
| Jericho | 33 | 8-19 | 21 |
| Gaza | 72 | 8-19 | 21 |
| Beer-Sheva | 26 | 5-23 | 25 |
| Eilat | 27 | 12-26 | 28 |

SAVINGS PLANS

(Continued from Page One)

companies must invest at least 92 per cent of their funds in non-tradeable government bonds.

It was also decided that the 2 per cent levy imposed on the selling of securities in the stock exchange will be reduced before April 1984, although in a selective way. New saving schemes based on bank shares will be offered.

The government will encourage issue of bonds and shares by corporations. In addition legislation will be proposed to create Closed and Investment Funds, which will resemble mutual funds.

The Bank of Israel will issue new bonds to the public with larger returns than at present, in accordance with the rates of interest in force at the time.

It was decided to propose changes that will bring a more equitable distribution of voting rights for share holders and to propose changes in the law on the activities of investment advisers.

Sums accumulated in professional-advancement funds (*keren hishtalmut*) will be exempted from tax after six years, and this will be insured by law. Currently there are no regulations on taxes on these funds.

The Treasury also said it will strive to abolish the tax at source paid by companies for certificates of deposit and two weeks savings deposits.

Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad said after the meeting that the new measures will insure an appropriate level of savings in the next four months.

According to figures disclosed yesterday by the Capital Market Commissioner, Yehuda Droni, the Treasury during the coming fiscal year will have to pay back some IS150 billion to the public for maturing saving schemes and government bonds. The Treasury efforts announced yesterday are meant to insure that these sums are reserved, and not used to finance consumption.

But according to Bank of Israel officials, even if the Treasury's efforts are successful, the sums which the public will save will be enough to keep constant the level of loans to the government. Any increase in the budget deficit beyond the one planned will have to be covered by the printing of money.

Parliamentarian to address Knesset

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Pieter Dankert, president of the European Parliament, who arrived here last night as guest of the Knesset, is to address the House at 4 p.m. today.

Other non-Israelis who addressed the Knesset plenum were a president of the UN General Assembly, U.S. presidents Richard Nixon and Jimmy Carter, and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

Dankert will be the seventh non-Israeli to speak from the floor lectern.

A bulletin issued by the Government Press Office yesterday said: "The House Committee has authorized applause" during and following Dankert's remarks before the Israeli lawmakers.

Welcome to Israel

Robert Oscar de La Vieg, retired businessman of Silver Springs, Md. he is the brother of Joanne Weisgal, prominent Jerusalemite.

Michelle Galer of Hull, Mass. From the Capt. Yehiel and Ruth Glovsky Langer Hospitality Foundation, One Mapu St., Jerusalem

HOME AND WORLD NEWS

Unions to consider new wage scale

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Histadrut's central committee yesterday decided to consider the introduction of a new wage scale for technological workers which would differentiate between those with academic training and those without.

Such a scale could serve as a precedent for unions representing workers with academic degrees and could cause labour unrest when non-academic unions fight to maintain linkage of their respective wage scales.

Yesterday's resolution was taken after five hours of deliberations here. The central committee decided to order top-level independent examination on forming a new wage scale which would replace

that of the 6,000 engineers and some 20,000 technicians.

In setting some preliminary guidelines for the commission, Histadrut Secretary-General Yehoram Meshel said it should take into account the demands of the profession, education, specialization, and personal achievements. In doing so he accepted the criteria laid down by the Engineers' Union which has been lobbying for a new scale. The engineers had organized strikes in the Israel Aircraft Industries and the Military Industries to back their demand.

The principle of equal pay for equal work should be applied, too, Meshel said.

The engineers yesterday complained to the central committee that technicians' pay has been equal to theirs and sometimes even higher.

Rafi Cohen, speaking on behalf of IAI engineers, told the Histadrut leaders that engineers are leaving the country because they do not get fair wages. The representative of the engineers in the nuclear reactor near Dimona, said tens of thousands of dollars are sometimes invested in an expert who subsequently leaves the country. Dov Yegar, representing the engineers in Koor, said that engineers trained in Koor prefer to move to private industries, where pay is much higher.

In a circular their union distributed among central committee members the engineers made it plain their members are likely to leave the Histadrut unless they are satisfied. Their warning that they might follow the doctors, journalists and high school teachers and set up

an independent union rang a warning bell at the meeting.

Opposition to their demand was led by Zalman Sherkman, the technicians' representative. He argued that diplomas should not count in determining wages — only the job one actually does. If engineers have better qualifications they will get higher posts, he said. On average engineers are two grades higher than technicians even if the wage scales are identical, he argued.

Sherkman demanded that his union's members be allowed to address the central committee too.

Meanwhile the Engineers' Union suspended its sanctions pending publication of the terms of reference of the new committee.

Levy wants energy prices set by body, not Moda'i

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

A growing number of families is no longer able to cope with the large and frequent hikes in controlled prices, mainly those of electricity and fuel, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy yesterday told the cabinet. He proposed a new body to set such prices in future.

Levy raised the issue of energy prices last week, after a 14 per cent increase in fuel prices and the expected hike in electricity rates. Yesterday a confrontation was expected between him and Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i, but Moda'i was absent due to illness.

Levy attacked the policy of rapid price increases and requested the appointment of a ministerial committee for fuel policy to set price policy. Such a measure would effectively strip Moda'i of the power to decide on energy prices measures. Although the cabinet decided to delay continuing the debate, it also agreed not to raise the price of electricity until a final decision is taken.

SCHOLARSHIPS. — The Wolf Foundation has granted scholarships worth \$12,000 to 171 students in Israel's institutions of higher education. Another \$30,000 was awarded for a research project in organic metals at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.



An overflow crowd of thousands gives an ovation to British pop star Eric Clapton in Jerusalem's Binyanei Ha'uma yesterday.

Mubarak to include Morocco in his tour

CAIRO (Reuters). — President Hosni Mubarak will visit Morocco for talks on the Middle East situation with King Hassan at the end of his current African tour, Foreign Minister Kamel Hassan Ali was quoted as saying yesterday.

The official Middle East News Agency, in a despatch from Mogadishu, quoted Ali as saying the two-day visit, which he called a turning point in Egyptian-Moroccan relations, was in response to an invitation from the king.

Arafat says he will meet Hussein later this month

BAGHDAD (Reuters). — Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat said yesterday he would resume talks with Jordan's King Hussein in Amman in mid-February to coordinate cooperation between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Jordan.

He told a news conference here that before his visit to Iraq he had telephoned Hussein, who had agreed on the timing for a meeting in the Jordanian capital.

The king is in the U.S. for medical tests after a bleeding stomach ulcer put him in hospital last month. A member of Arafat's delegation said after yesterday's news conference that the Amman meeting would be postponed if Hussein did not return in time. Arafat also mentioned a visit to Cairo in the near future. He surprised the world by going to the Egyptian capital for a meeting with President Hosni Mubarak in December before an Arab summit in Morocco. Last month invited Egypt back into the Arab fold.

The PLO chairman arrived in Baghdad on Saturday and had a long meeting yesterday with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Arafat later flew to Kuwait for talks which he said would cover the latest developments in the Middle East, the Palestinian problem and the conditions of Arabs living under Israeli occupation.

Ulpan classes for immigrant children assured

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The continuation of Hebrew ulpan classes for children of immigrants has been assured despite budget cuts, as a result of a meeting between representatives of the Absorption and Education ministries.

It was agreed in the meeting yesterday that immigrant children will continue to be entitled to Hebrew lessons in regular school classes and to special tutorial lessons after school, for the first three years after their arrival.

Last year, more than 16,000 Jews came on *aliya*. Of this number, 2,500 are children in the elementary school grades.

Upniam for immigrant adults have been cut, especially for persons who have been in the country for more than three years.

Soviet Jewish emigration

GENEVA (JTA). — Eighty-eight Jews emigrated from the Soviet Union during January, with 28 of them coming to Israel, according to the Inter-Governmental Committee on Emigration here.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

Twenty-one students from 13 developing countries are among those studying this year in an international course in public health at Jerusalem's Haddassah-University Hospital in Ein Kerem.

NEWS ANALYSIS/Asher Wallfish

Cabinet statement implies lawlessness in territories

The recurrent Arab unrest in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, the sometimes violent reaction of Jewish settlers to that unrest, and the authorities' wish to curb settler vigilantism have finally led to a cabinet statement on law and order in the areas.

By implication, the unanimous cabinet statement made it clear that in the past law and order had not been fully maintained in the areas, partly because of a lack of men and resources, partly because of unclear division of authority between various government agencies, partly because of recurrent Arab violence, and partly because some settlers took on themselves the functions of soldier or policeman.

The cabinet has not been given the Karp report on the authorities' soft line towards Jewish violence against Arabs in the areas and it did not discuss the Karp report yesterday or previously. The Knesset Law Committee will apparently get the Karp report tomorrow.

Sources in the government, believing the Karp report harms its image, said it gave an unbalanced picture of the true situation.

Hoteliers sending mission with or without Sharir's OK

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The country's hoteliers plan to send a delegation to Europe whether they receive the backing of the tourism minister or not, Hotel Association president Morris Cassuto told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Cassuto, who also heads the Israel Government Tourist Office in Cairo, noted that the association is at odds with Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir on a number of issues, but he added that this had no effect on Cassuto's position as a ministry emissary (at one shekel a year).

The delegation to Europe is to inform the travel trade there of the hoteliers' decision to link their prices to European currencies for Europeans, rather than to the dollar, as is the present practice. But Sharir had wanted this summer's prices linked to the value of the European currencies as of last November, while the hoteliers are holding out for the current rates of exchange.

In reply to a ministry announcement last week that Sharir was "cancelling" the delegation, Cassuto noted that although ministry director general Rafael Farber had been involved in the plans, it was the Hotel Association which organized the tour and the minister had no power to stop it.

He added that the hoteliers would have acceded to Sharir's "gradiose plan" for massive government-backed public relations and other measures, including lowering of landing fees and discounts by other branches of the industry, had been accepted. But he added, "there was no \$25m. (for publicity) and the hoteliers were the only ones who lowered their prices at all."

Supreme Court orders civil service to fire thief

The man was subsequently tried by the civil service disciplinary court, which sentenced him to demotion, fine and deduction of his salary IS10,000. The state then appealed the lightness of the civil service penalty and Justice Shamgar granted the appeal, saying, "With regret, the disciplinary court erred in its decision." (Itm)

Negligent driver is fined IS50,000

ASHKELON (Itm). — A foreign resident, Shoshan Prosper, 46, was found guilty in Magistrate's Court yesterday of driving negligently in rainy conditions and thereby causing injury to his passengers. The court imposed a fine of IS50,000 on Prosper and disqualified him from driving for five months, and gave him a two-year suspended sentence.

We deeply mourn the passing of the renowned Eshet Chayil.

LILLIAN KRUPNICK י"ל

and express deepest condolences to the bereaved husband.

Mr. Samson Krupnick and the entire family.

May he find comfort in his untiring and ceaseless efforts on behalf of the Torah and Israel.

Rabbi B. Horowitz,

Dean, and Faculty, Yeshivat Dvar Yerushalayim, Jerusalem

We express our deepest friendship and sympathy to

Samson Krupnick and family

on the loss of his wife, their mother, our dear friend, the extremely sensitive and gracious

LILLIAN KRUPNICK י"ל

Sam and Nina Bellows

Dan and Regina Lipman

William Z. and Eda Bass Novick

Mrs. Herz (Lottie) Rosenzweig

המקום יתום אתכם בתוך שאר אבלי ציון וירושלים

RAMOT SHAPIRA WORLD YOUTH CENTRE

extends its deepest sympathy to

Mr. Samson Krupnick

Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trustees

and his family,

on the passing of his beloved wife

LILLIAN KRUPNICK י"ל

המקום יתום אתכם בתוך שאר אבלי ציון וירושלים

ISRAEL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL

We extend sincerest condolences to

Mr. Samson Krupnick and his family

on the passing of his wife

LILLIAN KRUPNICK י"ל

המקום יתום אתכם בתוך שאר אבלי ציון וירושלים

TECHNION INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Faculty of Physics

Shares the grief of

Charles Kuper

on the passing of his wife

MARIE י"ל

SEGUISMUNDO FINKELSTEIN י"ל

We mourn the death of our beloved

father, father-in-law, grandfather and great-grandfather

in Santiago, Chile, on January 26, 1984.

Mary and Felix Senerman,

Grandchildren and Great-grandchildren.

Schwester Selma dies

Jerusalem Post Staff
Nurse Selma Mayer, known throughout her long career as Schwester Selma, died yesterday in her sleep in her apartment in Jerusalem's Shaare Zedek Hospital, in which she served as head nurse from 1916 until the late 1960s. She celebrated her 100th birthday on Friday.

Hundreds of guests invited to Shaare Zedek for her birthday party yesterday instead attended her funeral, in a section reserved for Distinguished Citizens of Jerusalem at the Har Hamenuhot Cemetery.

The funeral procession stopped on its way to the cemetery at the original premises of Shaare Zedek on Jaffa Road, where Schwester Selma spent most of her working life.

Born in the small German town of Hanau on February 3, 1884, Selma Mayer in 1913 was one of the first two Jewish nurses to pass the



Schwester Selma in 1976

German state nursing examinations. She was recruited in Germany to be head nurse of Shaare Zedek by Dr. Moshe Wallach, the hospital's founder and first director.

Her more than half a century of service spanned wars, epidemics and the transition of the hospital from 40 beds to a large medical centre. Schwester Selma lived in a modest room in the hospital, where she was always available to answer the needs of the sick.

Among the honours she received was being named a Distinguished Citizen of Jerusalem. She was also included in a 1975 Time magazine cover story on "Living Saints."

Several thousand people attended the funeral, including Knesset Speaker Menahem Savidor, Interior Minister Yosef Burg, Health Minister Eliezer Shostak, Mayor Teddy Kollek, former state comptroller Yitzhak Nebenzahl, Barbara Hansen, wife of the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, and many Shaare Zedek staff members.

Burg and Shostak were among those who eulogized Schwester Selma, whom they described as a legend in her dedication to the sick of Jerusalem. Shostak, who spoke in the name of the country's medical system, emphasized that Schwester Selma had devoted her entire life to the care of her fellow man. Burg noted that Schwester Selma had treated not only her patients' bodies, but also their spirits.

A scholarship fund for nurses' training has been established in memory of Schwester Selma, who founded the nursing school at Shaare Zedek.

Working mothers to protest over day-care centres

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The problem of day-care for children aged three-to-six could be solved for a quarter of what mothers now pay to keep their children in day-care centres, Aliza Tamir, chairman of the working women's department in the Histadrut told a press conference here yesterday.

The conference was called to preview Mother's Protest Day, a demonstration of over 3,000 women which is to take place in Jerusalem on Wednesday.

Tamir said women are the first victims of the government's current economic policy. They are the most likely to be unemployed and their salaries, which tend to be low anyway, are eroded by the large sums they must pay for day-care and by their inability to shop for bargains for lack of spare time.

"Women are still seen as 'second breadwinners' in this country and the policy is that it is not important to encourage them to work," Tamir complained. "When so many work days have to go into defence, you would think the country would be

interested in compensating itself by encouraging women to work... We have flooded the minister of labour and social affairs and the minister of finance with memoranda on how we think the problems can be solved, but nobody pays any attention."

One of the solutions her department has proposed is to convert kindergartens, which now close at 1 p.m., into kindergarten/day-care centres which would remain open until 4 p.m. The kindergarten teacher and her assistant would go home at 1 and would be replaced for the remaining three hours by two day-care workers, who would give the children lunch, have them nap and play with them when they woke up.

"The buildings and equipment are already there; all we would need are folding cots," Tamir said. "Our calculation is that it would cost the mothers \$13,000 a month, compared to \$13,000 in day-care centres. The (existing) day-care centres should be used for children under three."

Participants in Wednesday's demonstration also will demand passage of a law making the minimum wage 50 per cent of the average wage in the economy.

Police sure 'Ha'aretz' fire was arson

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The fire that gutted the basement of the Ha'aretz editorial offices Saturday was caused deliberately, police said yesterday after examining evidence left on the premises.

Ha'aretz will be published in its usual size today after coming out in abbreviated form yesterday. Several subscribers received no newspaper yesterday due to the late hour the paper was finally printed.

The editorial desk staff of Ha'aretz moved to the offices of the

Ha'ir weekly after the fire Saturday, and continued working there during the day because telephone lines to the Ha'aretz offices had not yet been reconnected. But the printworkers returned to the building on Rehov Sholom and by evening the editorial work resumed there.

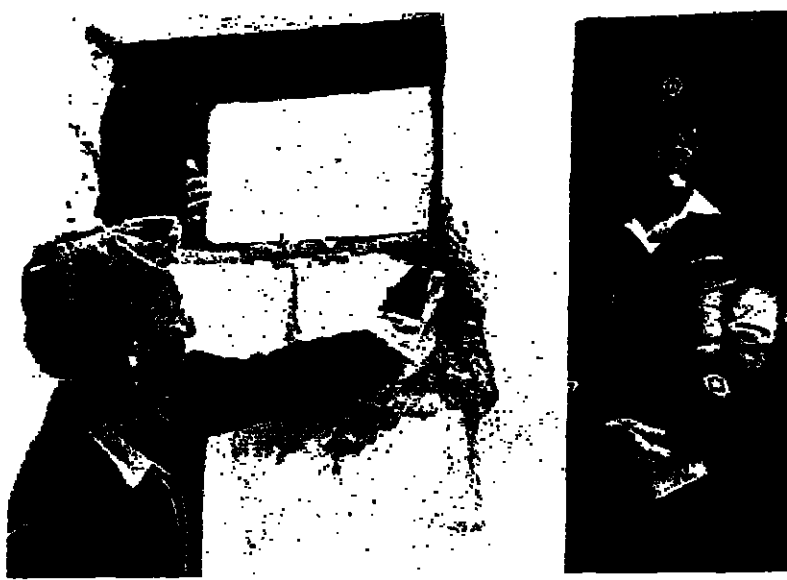
The fire caused tens of thousands of dollars in damage in burned newspaper rolls, charred walls, electric wiring and buckled ceiling beams. A fire in 1976 erupted in exactly the same place in the basement, it was learned.

Schools to commemorate Rabbi Abuhatzzeira

The religious department of the Education Ministry has sent a directive to religious government schools reminding them to commemorate the memory today of Rabbi Yisrael Abuhatzzeira ("Baba

Sali"), who died 30 days ago. Abuhatzzeira was a leader of Moroccan Jewry.

The directive asked teachers to emphasize the rabbi's piety and love of Israel. (Itim)



A worker yesterday seals off windows in the house in Abu Tor where three suspects in the killing of yeshiva student Avraham Gross once lived. (Rahamim Israeli)

Murder suspects' home sealed off in Abu Tor

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Three rooms in the Jerusalem neighbourhood of Abu Tor once inhabited by the men suspected of killing yeshiva student Avraham Gross were sealed yesterday morning by order of the West Bank military authorities.

The suspects, Adnan Adhak Abu Seneina, Ziad Omar Abu Seneina and Hani Mahmoud Abu al-Sabat, are being held in the Jerusalem police lock-up, pending the start of their trial later this month. The three, and five others, all belonging to an extreme Moslem fundamentalist group, were charged with the murder last month.

Gross was murdered in a knife attack in downtown Hebron on July 7 last year.

The three suspects lived in Rehov Hamefaked in Abu Tor. The residents of the house were yesterday morning given time to remove their belongings before the window and spaces were sealed off.

Houses of other suspects in the group were blown up or sealed two months ago.

The father of two of the suspects, Omar Abu Seneina Sa'id, yesterday complained that the sealing of his home would force the house's eight remaining inhabitants, who committed no crime, to live in one room.

Dan to compete with Egged in Rishon

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Dan bus cooperative's planned expansion into Rishon LeZion in two months will cause a competition "war" with its rival Egged, but the move is in the public interest, says Yosef Horowitz, chairman of Dan's secretariat. Egged alone currently serves Rishon with urban and interurban lines.

"We know that there will be a battle for passengers with Egged as there was when we started operating in other areas where they

had a monopoly," Horowitz said in an interview. "After a short time they got used to it, and I think that it is to the benefit of the public that there should be competition."

Dan secretariat members said all the preparations for the expansion have been made. The Transport Ministry, which must give final approval, is expected to do so by the end of this month.

During the first stage, Dan will serve a small area in the northwestern section of Rishon. It hopes to expand service to other areas of the town.

Falashas featured in anthropology meet

Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA. — The 10th annual conference of the Israeli Society of Anthropology, taking place here today, will highlight the absorption of Ethiopian Jews in Israel. Beersheba, which has the largest concentration of Ethiopian immigrants in the country, is hosting the academic discussion.

Anthropologists will present such papers as "Magic among the Ethiopians," "Transplanting the Sigd (religious festival) to Israel," and the absorption of Ethiopian Jewry.

At the same time, an all-day symposium on Ethiopian Jewry will take

place in the local community centre. Sponsored by the Government Information Centre, the Jewish Agency, the Absorption Ministry and the municipality, it will present a more personal view of Ethiopian absorption. An immigrant will speak about his integration in the country, and various officials will present their organizations' point of view.

The anthropological conference will also discuss systems of education from an anthropological perspective, as well as "settlement and evacuation." Four papers will be presented on special communities in Israel.

Phones soon for Ramot Allon

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Telephones will be available to all residents of Jerusalem's Ramot Allon neighbourhood within three months, according to Zecharia Mizrotsky, spokesman of Bezek, the new public telecommunications company.

Hundreds of families in the northern quarter are waiting for lines, he said. The company is bringing in a mobile phone exchange that will provide a phone line to all who requested it, if the necessary infrastructure work has been completed by the contractor.

Mizrotsky was asked to comment about complaints by Prisons Service spokesman Shimon Malka, who has moved into Ramot Allon and lives in the same building as Rami Lifshitz, intelligence chief of the service. Both lack phones, and claim they use a nearby public phone booth to conduct their business after hours, which disturbs their neighbours.

The Bezek spokesman said that both men were warned that they would not be able to get a phone for months because the cable infrastructure had not been completed.

Doron will head cleanup campaign

By ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The cabinet yesterday appointed Minister-without-Portfolio Sara Doron as the national broom to keep Israel clean.

It decided to create a national cleanup campaign headquarters responsible to Doron to get garbage cleared away from streets, highways, public areas and institutions, the countryside and the beaches, mainly through voluntary measures.

Four ministries will be asked to send senior representatives to the cleanup HQ, with Uri Marinov, the official in charge of environmental affairs at the Interior Ministry, carrying the main burden.

Doron will rope in all the voluntary organizations whose activities

could involve them in cleaning up the environment. She told The Jerusalem Post last night: "We shall need the Public Works Department with its bulldozers and trucks to get rid of some of the rubbish."

Doron's connections with women's voluntary organizations have already borne fruit in quite a different field: Mobilizing women academics to lecture to female soldiers on topics for which the army education corps has not managed to find enough male reservist lecturers.

ROAD SAFETY. — National Road Safety Council chairman Judge Dov Levin met recently with youth movement secretaries to discuss the establishment of a junior division in the council.

425 French troops reach South Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — French paratroopers waded ashore in Southern Lebanon yesterday to join the UNIFIL force in the area. The 425 soldiers were brought from Beirut on board ships of the French fleet, transferred to landing craft and came ashore on the beach south of the Rashidiya refugee camp.

The operation was carried out without a hitch. UNIFIL sources had kept it secret out of fear that Shi'ite extremists might try to attack the French.

The French contingent in UNIFIL now numbers 1,390. Some

780 men are stationed in Nakoura and serve as engineers and sappers. With the arrival yesterday of additional soldiers, the number of French paratroopers in UNIFIL stands at 610. They are to be based in the village of Juaya in the coastal sector.

High-ranking officers in the Israeli Defence Forces yesterday unofficially expressed satisfaction at the arrival of additional French troops in Southern Lebanon. The French were said to be "professional and highly capable" soldiers.

In September, 1982, 482 French paratroopers were withdrawn from their UNIFIL duties and moved to

Beirut to serve with the Multinational Peace-keeping Force. The return of approximately the same number now, and the fact that the total UNIFIL force in South Lebanon numbers 6,000 troops of various nations, is thought to increase the possibility that the IDF can withdraw southward from the Awali River and have its place taken by UNIFIL.

The U.S. Defence Department last week publicly endorsed such a move. Hopes that the Lebanese Army could take the IDF's place in evacuated areas seem to have been dashed by the latest developments in Beirut.

Galilee towns call for priority treatment

By YOEL DAR

Special to the Jerusalem Post
UPPER NAZARETH. — The leaders of the Jewish settlements in Galilee have called on the government to give priority to the development of their area.

Speaking at a press conference here yesterday, Baruch Wanger, the chairman of Carmiel local council, said that in the past six months the populations of eight out of 12 development towns in the north dropped from between 0.5 per cent and 6.5 per cent. During this period, the populations of only four towns remained stable or grew somewhat.

Upper Nazareth Mayor, Menachem Ariav, said that the new

trend of "desertion" of the Galilee partly stemmed from the financial crisis in the local authorities. The Housing Ministry has almost halted building new flats and public buildings and the local councils have sharply cut municipal services, he said. Unemployment is on the rise and many ex-soldiers cannot find work, he said.

Yigal Bibi, the mayor of Tiberias, said that the Interior Ministry had asked the towns to increase municipal rates by 260 per cent this year.

Not all the participants supported reducing the budget of the administered territories to enable the

Galilee to get more of the national cake.

The mayor of Afula, Eli Ovadia (Likud), stressed that the money spent on the West Bank settlement of Dotan will ensure the security of his town. Both Afula and Dotan are near Jenin.

Shaul Amour, the chairman of Migdal Ha'emek local council, disputed allegations that come cabinet ministers showed favouritism towards mayors who are members of the Likud. "This is a lie and slander against the government since no local council received one agora without the approval of the northern government representative," Amour said.



Anti-Lebanon war demonstrators release doves in the Emil Grunzweig Park outside the Prime Minister's Office yesterday. The 1,500 demonstrators were from nine kibbutzim — Hazorea, Mizra, Ramot Menashe, Dvir, Ma'abarot, Ha'ogen, Yakum, Nahshonim, and Horshim — and the towns of Yokneam, Yeroham, Dimona and Afula. The sign reads: "The Lebanon war — a strange war in a strange land for alien goals." (Isaac Harari)

(Continued from Page One)

amendment was released, many ratepayers ignored the municipality's offers of 27 or 33 per cent discounts for early payment. They figured that their Patam dollars would appreciate in value against the shekel at a faster rate than the loss of value in the discount they had forgone.

What is more, they could have begun paying their rates after April 1, the legal start of the fiscal year and, in addition to a minimal interest penalty, pay off their entire yearly tax in "cheap" shekels.

With the new amendment, however, this calculation could prove outmoded since any and all amounts unpaid would automatically be linked to the Consumer Price Index.

The Interior Ministry source admitted that when the amendment

CITY RATES

goes into effect the amount of tax that appears on the tax bill would become meaningless, and would float just as the exchange rate of the shekel.

He also pointed out that the Jerusalem bills are "somewhat strange" in that the first two no-discount payments occur in February and March, months that belong to the 1983/84 fiscal year. The new amendment, he emphasized, could provide for index linkage only in the fiscal year itself, which begins April 1.

However, the cities could get their inflation-adjusted tax money in another way, he pointed out. Several years ago an executive order by the Interior Minister gave

mayors the authority to impose "additional payments" to the property tax. These surcharges have indeed been imposed in recent years.

However, these "extra payments" may be levied only to compensate for erosion of the purchasing power of uncollected arrears debts caused by inflation.

Thus, ratepayers who had taken advantage of the early-payment discounts were also freed from the "extra payments."

HEADACHE. — Residents of two buildings on Bnei Brak's Rehov Yael have filed a complaint against the Weissbrod and Sons factory with the Council for the Prevention of Noise and Air Pollution, saying the plant's operation shakes their buildings and causes them chronic headaches.

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Israel General Bank Ltd.



Bank administration offices and its Tel Aviv branch will be open to serve the public in its new premises on Tuesday, February 7, 1984.

The new address:

38 Sderot Rothschild (corner Reh. Yavneh).
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For the convenience of our clients, all bank branches will be open to the public, from Tuesday, February 7, 1984, between 8.30 a.m. and 1.00 p.m. from Sunday to Thursday, and on Friday, 8.30 a.m.-12 noon.

מזכרת לזכרון

Nicaragua postpones elections indefinitely

Nicaragua has blamed the U.S. and Honduras for separate air attacks on Thursday and Friday on a Nicaraguan military barracks in which five Nicaraguan soldiers died

Sasser, a critic of U.S. policy in Central America, on Saturday

Nicaraguan rebels as "freedom fighters," has said the leftist government here has not lived up to the democratic promises of the 1979 Sandinista revolution.

After the downing last week of French fighter plane by Libyan-backed Chadian rebels, France retaliated by expanding its area of control.

pearance. Police refused to disclose details of the letter.

Mhatre. "If such a group exists it is a brand new group."

Greece suddenly renounces

Shimshon Brokman and Eytan Friedlander finished 13th in the World 470 Yachting Championships in New Zealand. New Zealanders took the first three places. The win-

Another guerrilla group attacked civil defence and national guard posts late Friday at San Sebastian, 52 km. east of the capital, a military

between Indonesia and Malaysia, which could be taken to
where there have been a spate of documentary maritime fraud

Elements of foreign laws urged for use in China

England pulverized
CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand (AP). — England's batting collapsed

by your death you have awakened millions of us to the fact that freedom must be fought for and

slightly due to cold winter weather, especially in North America.

"We should critically research ancient and foreign laws, no matter whether they belong to slave, feudal or capitalist societies, throw out the waste and keep the essence," the article reads.

**Working
extensive
e. non-
Cultural
radicals**

Contest deadline: May 30, 1984

slightly due to cold winter weather, especially in North America

SYRACUSE, New York (AP). — An 85-year-old retired college president who a state court said had the right to starve himself to death has died, the family's attorney said.

Noah meets Lendl
Post Sports Staff

Contest deadline: May 30, 1984

Senegal closes Iranian Embassy in Dakar

Controversial Italian intelligence chief

In Houston, Hana Mandlikova wrote un-
sundered Mainaina Maleeva of Bulgaria in the final
of the \$150,000 Virginia Slims Tournament.
Mandlikova dispatched Barbara Potter 6-4, 6-4,
and Maleeva surprised Wendy Turnbull 7-6, 7-6.

Contest deadline: May 30, 1984

ISLAMABAD (Reuters). — Pakistan's military government plans to install hidden microphones in the country's major airports to eavesdrop for possible activities of the banned Communist Party. The move is part of a security drive which includes film cameras which are scrutinizing passengers passing through the airports in Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi and Peshawar airports, the newspaper said. Pictures of the airports are being

Israel Lands Administration
Southern District

Mitope Ramon
Local Council

Ministry of Construction
and Housing
Nevay District

Contest deadline: May 30, 1984

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— This advertisement is sponsored by United Mizrahi Bank, Ltd.

Tue., Feb. 14 The Song of Songs
Neve Tzedek Theatre Centre. Tel Aviv. 9.30 p.m.
Mon., Feb. 20 Steps and Sounds
Neve Tzedek Theatre Centre. 5.00, 8.00 p.m.
Tickets: Cash! Tel. 03 444725 and other Tel Aviv agencies.
Performances and tickets can be booked at the local office, Neve Tzedek Theatre.

The cheque, to be considered a down payment, is to Administration.

Further details are available at the above Lands Administration.

This notice is valid until April 1, 1984.

be made payable to the Israel Land-
reclamation office.

Battle Lines

Reagan Pulls Out the Stops For His Last Campaign...

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

FOR all the well teased suspense leading up to his announcement for re-election, President Reagan finally did plunge eagerly into the last campaign of his career, marking its first days as a kind of cavalcade of all that Americans have come to cherish of dispute about the nation's master politician.

On the first day, Monday, Mr. Reagan invoked the Christian God in a speech and drew an "Amen" chorus from a handily assembled audience of broadcast preachers. They had to admire his old radio technique as much as his message as the President turned to one of his perennial, the abortion issue, and described the "pain that is long and agonizing" suffered by an aborted fetus. Physicians dispute this; but Mr. Reagan demonstrated in his heartfelt tones about "helpless innocents" an electric mastery of fundamentalist leadership.

On the second day, the President displayed his talent for journeying out to a patch of the nation as if it were a sound stage. He flew to Chicago for a 20-minute speech in which he had crafted a single paragraph in his slowly evolving attack on the Democrats' previous incumbency: "Greed and envy," he said, drove the criticism of his tax-cut program by the failed "policy makers of yesterday." He nestled this dart in his standard stump speech about the economic recovery and America's greatness. The speech, with Mr. Reagan's inevitable, politically intriguing knock on the Federal Government he now heads, already seems burnished and comfortable for him. The speech is much more controllable and politically reliable than some of the ad lib answers he gave last week in press and television interviews. In one, he noted that some homeless needy people may be homeless by choice; — a Reagan touch of old guaranteed-to-excite his loyalists and critics alike for all kinds of different reasons.

Wednesday was a day Democrats were long awaiting, since Mr. Reagan had to turn out the fiscal 1985 budget, a red-ink document burdened with a \$180 billion deficit. Mr. Reagan, however, was already moving into the election year with fresh words that finally deplored the deficit — but as a bipartisan trouble — and with spending-cut numbers that were far more sparing of social programs than his earlier budgets. Democrats, seeing Mr. Reagan fairly booming in the opinion poll ratings, must have wondered whether anyone could recall that four years ago Mr. Reagan vowed in his candidacy to have the budget in balance by this year. For this campaign, in con-



Drawings by Harry Pines

trast, the candidate is talking of his "dream" to some day see it forced into balance by the drawn-out process of constitutional amendment.

Being a Congressional Democrat may be particularly galling in these first days of Mr. Reagan's renewed ambition. On the one hand the Democrats were invited by the President to join him in deficit negotiations; with the back of the other hand, they were accused of "aiding and abetting" enemies of peace in the Middle East with their call for the return of the marines from Beirut.

On this issue, even as the Democrats hoped to score foreign policy points with voters, word came out from State Department officials that the conditions for withdrawing the marines were being eased. If so, Mr. Reagan's path to the fall election might eventually grow wide enough for him to drive a steamroller through.

By Thursday, candidate Reagan was using what he regards as his premier foreign policy success, the invasion of Grenada, to lash the Democrats again. He said that if Democrats had retained the Presidency, Grenada probably would have been invaded by hostile forces, not liberating Americans. Through the week, Mr. Reagan found opportunity to display his strategists' new emphasis on the public's craving for peace. Extolling the power of prayer, he asked: "I wonder what would be its megatonnage?" He even tucked his announcement on the latest drop in national unemployment into the unveiling of his new proposals to pump more economic and military aid into Central America. Maybe it would be best to export the Reagan recovery to Central America, the President said gleefully.

People who study Ronald Reagan are haunted by the thought that they may, after all, be witnessing an actor walking through, yes bounding through, the role of his life. Democrats gripe as did Diderot two centuries ago on the art of acting: "The possibilities of a good actor lie in the complete absence of sensibility." The Reaganites insist his is much more the talent described 80 years ago by the actor Gabrielle Rejane: "I understand only what I feel, and I feel only what I also understand."

By the end of the week, President Reagan's self-confidence — always something to see whether in crisis or in a posed profile — seemed brimming over. In the first days of running again, the candidate reached the generous point where he was willing to proclaim that his Democratic critics were actually politicians of good will. He even certified they were devoid of "personality defects." Now, almost anyone could agree, that's a self-confident politician.

... And Mondale, in Front, Works Hard to Stay There

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

CONCORD, N.H. NOTHING can be more embarrassing for an early front-runner than to look less than invincible when the first important votes start rolling in. So James A. Johnson, campaign chairman for Walter F. Mondale, remarked recently that in the upcoming primary and caucus contests in New Hampshire and Iowa he was worried about "unreasonable expectations" for Mr. Mondale.

Nonetheless, at this point there's no denying that Mr. Mondale is clearly ahead of his Democratic opponents for the Presidential nomination in terms of polls, campaign funds, organizational muscle and, it seems, momentum. Reubin Askew, himself a longshot contender, said last week that the Democratic contest had turned into a "1½-man race" between Mr. Mondale and Senator John Glenn of Ohio, with the Senator's campaign "disintegrating rapidly." The latest financial disclosure reports showed that Mr. Mondale raised \$9.4 million in 1983, to Mr. Glenn's \$5.7 million.

And last week Mr. Mondale picked up the endorsements of two very important Democrats, Robert S. Strauss, the former party chairman who will help raise more money for the candidate and seek the support of uncommitted businessmen friends, and the Speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. The O'Neill endorsement was a sharp departure; four years ago, citing the need for strict neutrality, he declined to choose between President Carter and his Democratic rival, Senator Edward M. Kennedy. By comparison, Mr. Glenn, who last month replaced his campaign manager, continued to be plagued with difficulties. Four of six black Georgia state legislators who had been Glenn supporters announced last week that they had changed their minds.

Quite clearly Mr. Mondale has come to be regarded as the favorite in the Democratic race by President Reagan, who in recent weeks has accused the Democrats — and especially Mr. Mondale — of trying to "buy support" from special interest groups. Mr. Mondale has responded with a campaign-style rhetoric that he relishes, in the process virtually ignoring his Democratic rivals. Last week, he accused the Reagan Administration of, among other things, "double-dealing," siding with "every politer in America," and having "the biggest deficits and the smallest compassion" in the nation's history.

Still, not even Mr. Glenn's organizational and other difficulties have made Mr. Mondale and his staff secure in their lead, or so they maintain. Mr. Campion and Mr.



Mondale's associates are concerned over several factors. "For one, independent and undecided voters in New Hampshire and Iowa don't always break the way the polls are," said John R. Reilly, a Washington lawyer close to Mondale's campaign.

Mr. Mondale and his staff fret about the "Super Tuesday" primaries and caucuses on March 13, in states including Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Massachusetts. Jesse Jackson's candidacy could siphon away many black voters in the South who would otherwise vote for Mr. Mondale. Moreover, questions remain about Mr. Glenn's appeal to independent voters.

Mr. Johnson, the central planner in the Mondale campaign, observed: "Ultimately, whether Mondale wins the nomination and the Presidency depends on our strategy, the ability of the organization to help project Mondale's strength, and our ability to plan and anticipate critical events." Even Mr. Johnson, with his precise, methodical approach, concedes that there is a human dimension to politics that remains, in the end, impossible to measure. It is here, perhaps, that shadows fall across Mr. Mondale's candidacy. Despite his organization — widely regarded as one of the best in the history of the Democratic Party — Mr. Mondale appears to stir little passion among voters.

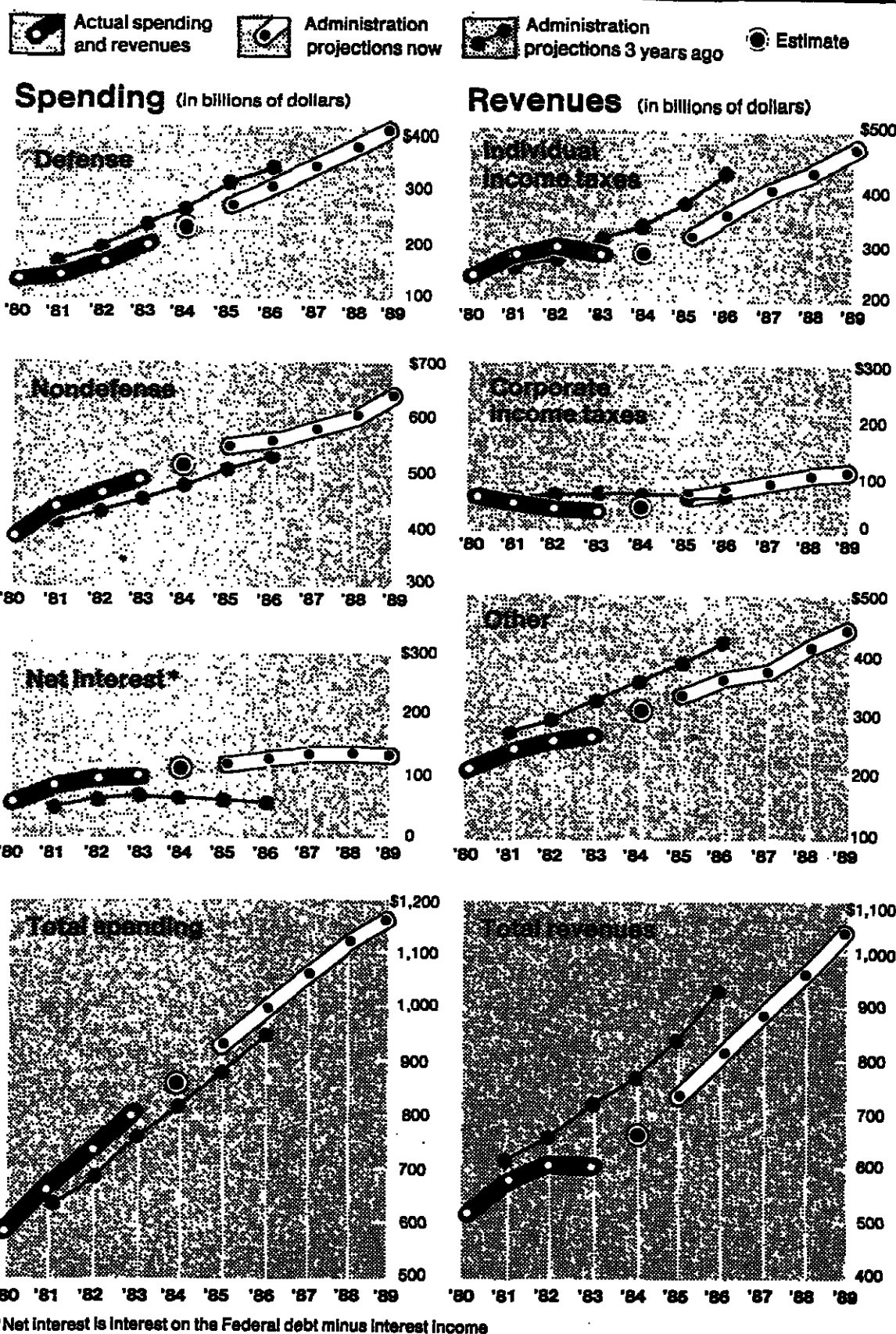
Private polls for the Mondale staff show that voters "do not see personality as a problem," said one of Mr. Mondale's aides. Although Mr. Mondale expects, if nominated, that he will be subject to attacks by President Reagan for his record as Vice President in the Carter Administration, his aides say that their polls show the Carter connection is not seen as a substantial hindrance.

Mr. Mondale himself generally avoids bringing up the Carter name, although on the stump he often speaks of his experience in the White House. His Democratic opponents display no such reticence. Last week, for instance, California Senator Alan Cranston asserted that if Mr. Mondale is the party's nominee, "We will hear nothing but Jimmy Carter, Jimmy Carter, Jimmy Carter from Ronald Reagan."

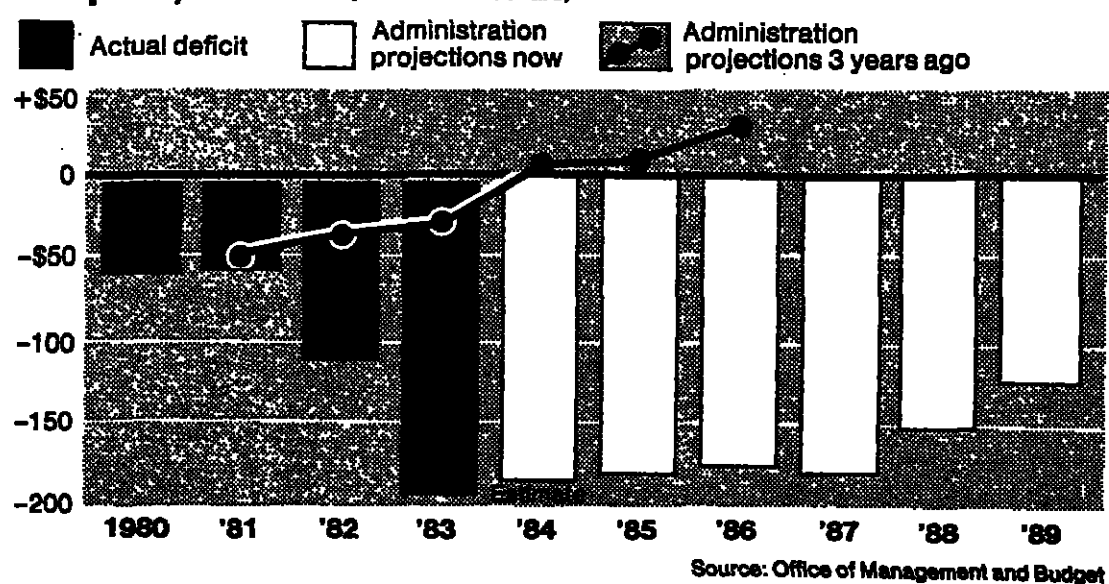
Mr. Mondale is, quite often, a surprisingly forceful speaker who is generally more effective in person than on television — no small problem in a race against President Reagan, a master on the screen. At the moment, however, Mr. Mondale and his staff insist that they are hardly thinking in strategic ways, of a campaign against Mr. Reagan. "Overconfidence? You've got to be kidding," said one Mondale aide on the campaign bus in New Hampshire. "You can't be overconfident in February in Democratic Presidential politics."

The Federal budget: How it was, is and might be

President Reagan last week proposed a \$925.5 billion budget for the fiscal year that begins in October. The following charts show details of spending and revenue proposals, past and present, and projections for the future. Economic effects of the budget and Democratic reaction to it, pages 2 and 3.



Surplus/deficit (in billions of dollars)



The Pressure Builds on Lebanon, The Marines and the President

One day after President Reagan declared himself a candidate last week for a second term, the civil war in Lebanon claimed its 25th American service victim. The death of Lance Cpl. George L. Drans in a bombardment at the Beirut airport, and the heavy fighting that persisted much of the week, underscored one of the President's biggest political liabilities — the miring of the marines in Lebanon's seemingly endless conflicts.

As Moslem and Druse militia battled Lebanese Government troops and the multinational peacekeeping force in the most intense fighting in months, House Democrats heralded what was likely to be one of the biggest campaign issues by preparing a non-binding resolution urging the President to begin "a prompt and orderly withdrawal" of the marines and to seek a United Nations-sponsored force instead. "The safety of the marines is at stake — get them out of there," was the way the House Speaker, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., summarized the resolution's message. The White House said the Demo-

crats were playing politics. In response, the Democrats worked to soften critical language in the resolution so as to attract bipartisan support. Mr. Reagan declared, "I'm not going to pay any attention to it." But despite the strong talk, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, gave the impression that the Administration was also looking for a quick way out. Opposing the resolution before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Eagleburger pre-

dicted dire results from a precipitate withdrawal. The long-term aim of establishing Lebanon's unity and independence stands but, he added, "we do not expect our marines to bring about these ambitious goals." He limited the marines' role to providing the Lebanese Government with a "breathing spell" to sort out political problems and impose its authority over Beirut.

Even these modest aims seemed distant. The political uncertainty mounted with reports yesterday that three of the four Moslem ministers in the Government had quit under pressure from the Shites, who were also prodding Moslem soldiers, almost half the army, to stop fighting. Dissatisfaction with President Amin Gemayel's leadership grew. A plan to disengage the warring factions through buffer zones, a first step toward a "breathing spell," was foundering on continued objections by Walid Jumblat, the Druse leader, who was predicting "decisive battles" to come. His forces are supplied by Syria and he reflects Syria's tough line, which has puzzled and infuriated Washington. But Mr. Jumblat added to the political confusion by participating in a call for resumption of conciliation talks.

The Nation

Senate Passes Anticrime Bill

By a 91-1 vote, the Senate last week approved a broad anticrime bill that would, among other things, deny bail to dangerous Federal defendants and impose stiffer penalties on narcotics offenders.

To insure quick, painless passage, a number of controversial proposals — including restoring the death penalty for certain Federal crimes and establishing a Cabinet-level "drug czar" — weren't included in the legislation. The package very nearly came unwrapped, however, when Democratic Senators Howard M. Metzenbaum of Ohio and Dale Bumpers of Arkansas introduced an amendment, ultimately defeated 54 to 41, to make it illegal for Government officials to secretly record telephone conversations (à la Charles Z. Wick, director of the United States Information Agency). Final passage of the bill, much of which was called unconstitutional by the American Civil Liberties Union, was opposed only by Charles McC. Mathias, Republican of Maryland, who said some sentencing changes were "ill-conceived."

Strom Thurmond, the South Carolina Republican who heads the Judiciary Committee, called the measure "the most important legislative contribution to effective Federal law enforcement" in well over a decade. The outlook in the House of Representatives isn't promising. William J. Hughes, a New Jersey Democrat who is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's crime subcommittee, said the legislation would be "dead on arrival." Portions of the 387-page bill would probably be parceled out to subcommittees, Mr. Hughes said, so "the risk is high that one of those chairmen will oppose some measure."

Fund Complications For Jesse Jackson

The Rev. Jesse Jackson's relations with many Jewish leaders, including a number who are active in Democratic Party politics, had already been strained because of a \$10,000 gift he received from Libya in 1979. The strain seemed likely to intensify after disclosures last week that Operation PUSH, a civil rights organization that Mr. Jackson ran before he became a Presidential candidate, had received \$200,000 in contributions from the Arab League in the early 80's.

John H. Bustamante, Mr. Jackson's lawyer and general counsel for Operation PUSH, confirmed that, as The New York Times reported last weekend, the league had given \$100,000 to the PUSH Foundation and that an anonymous gift of \$350,000 had been received as well. In addition, Mr. Bustamante said that another affiliate, PUSH for Excellence Incorporated, had received a \$100,000 contribution from the league. At the time the gifts were received Mr. Jackson was national president of PUSH but, the attorney said, hadn't asked for the contributions.

Mr. Jackson said that The Times had applied a "double standard" to him and to PUSH, noting that there was nothing illegal about the league contributions. "If the Arab League can contribute to Harvard and Georgetown and other institutions of education," asked Mr. Jackson, "can they not contribute to the PUSH Foundation?" Clovis Maksoud, a spokesman for the league, said he was "amazed" at the attention given its donations. "We in the Arab League admire the social, educational and relief work undertaken by PUSH and similar institutions which provide food, medicine and educational assistance, along with other valuable relief services," he said.

Big Steel Gets Urge to Merge

Gobbling up a competitor, some ailing steel makers have concluded, may be the best way to avoid the corporate slag heap. Last week United States Steel Corporation became the latest company to announce a merger, a billion-dollar acquisition of National Steel. The deal still has to be cleared with the Justice Department or the Federal Trade Commission (as does an earlier proposed merger of Republic Steel and LTV Corporation's Jones and Laughlin Steel); a go-ahead from Washington, many analysts said, could be followed by still more mergers.

United States Steel's pronouncements of late have reflected the industry's hard times. In late December the company reported that it planned to bank furnaces at six plants and scale back operations at more than 20 others in what was called a program to eliminate older facilities. A day before last week's merger announcement, United States Steel disclosed that its 1983 losses had been its largest ever. Chairman David M. Roderick said the merger with National Steel, a subsidiary of National Intergroup, would help put his company in the black by, among other things, giving it three of the nation's most efficient mills. "We are acquiring some very modern facilities and capable people," Mr. Roderick said, as well as extensive reserves of coal and iron ore.

Union officials fretted about many of National's employees. The seventh largest steel producer, National Steel has a payroll of 11,700. "It is with shock and surprise," said Lynn Williams, acting president of the United Steelworkers union, "that we find the nation's largest steel producer, which only yesterday posted a record \$1.3 billion loss for 1983 and which a month ago announced a massive shutdown affecting over 15,000 of its employees, now acquiring a smaller steel maker."

A Judge Steps In And Orders Death

Life in prison was not penalty enough, an Alabama judge ruled last week, as he sentenced a member of the Ku Klux Klan to die for killing a young black man at random. To reach his decision, Judge Braxton Kittrell Jr. had to overrule a jury, breaking precedent in Alabama.

In December, a jury of 11 whites and one black convicted Henry Francis Hays, the son of a Klan leader, of murdering 19-year-old Michael Donald "to show Klan strength in Alabama." The jury recommended life imprisonment without parole. At the time of the March 1981 murder, Alabama law prohibited a judge from imposing a death sentence if a jury had recommended life in prison. The law was changed later that year and Judge Kittrell said he believed the State Legislature intended to give the court the final say in sentencing.

Mr. Donald had left his apartment in Mobile to buy cigarettes when he was snatched off the street by Klansmen who did not know him. He was beaten and strangled and his body was hanged from a tree across the street from his home — all in retaliation for an unrelated mistrial of a black man accused of killing a white police officer, according to the testimony of a Klansman who pleaded guilty to violating the victim's civil rights.

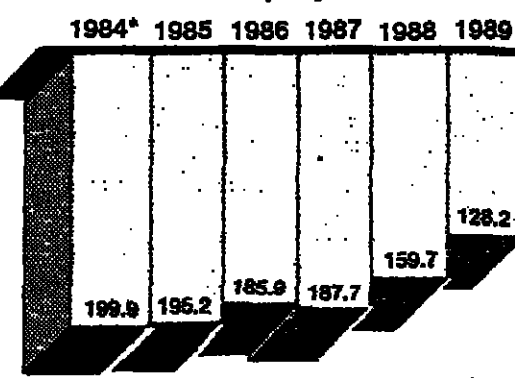
Caroline Rand Harroun,
Michael Wright
and Carlyle C. Douglas

The forecasting game

Differing views on the deficit . . .

(fiscal years; in billions of dollars)

Administration projections

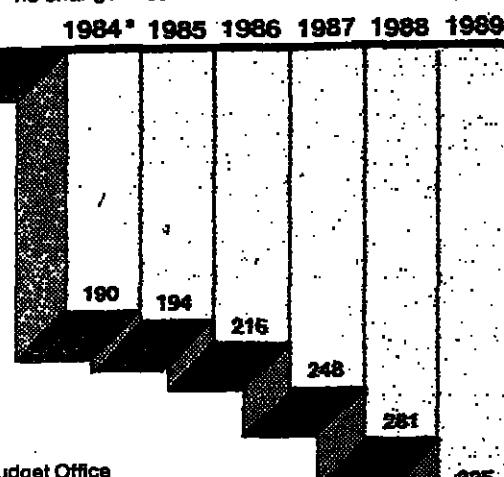


* estimate

Sources: Office of Management and Budget; Congressional Budget Office

Congressional Budget Office

(preliminary estimates, assuming no change in current law)



. . . and the economy

(in percent)

| | Administration projections | Blue Chip consensus forecast of 40 economists (preliminary) |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| 1984 | | |
| Economic growth* (real G.N.P.) | 4.5 | 3.9 |
| Inflation* (Consumer Price Index) | 4.5 | 5.4 |
| Interest** (91-day Treasury bill) | 8.3 | 6.9 |
| Unemployment† | 7.8 | 7.7 |
| 1985 | | |
| Economic growth* (real G.N.P.) | 4.0 | 3.4 |
| Inflation* (Consumer Price Index) | 4.7 | 5.7 |
| Interest** (91-day Treasury bill) | 7.5 | 9.4 |
| Unemployment† | 7.6 | 7.4 |

*fourth quarter over fourth quarter **fourth quarter †annual average, including armed forces

Sources: Office of Management and Budget; Eggert Economic Enterprises, Inc.

Charts by The New York Times/Stephen M. Hadermayer

Economy's One Bad Sign Still Dominates the View

By LEONARD SILK

WHAT are the economic implications of the Budget and Economic Messages that the President submitted to Congress and the nation last week?

"Before us," he said, "stands the prospect of an extended era of peace, prosperity, growth and a rising standard of living for all Americans."

But despite the strong recovery of the past year and the President's assurances of better things to come, Wall Street is uncertain and apprehensive. The Dow Jones industrial average, close to 1300 a month ago,

closed at 1197.03 Friday, down 32.97 points for the week. It has dropped 92 points since Jan. 9. And private economic forecasters are discounting the Administration's bullishness. (Both, however, expect unemployment to decline somewhat. As though to confirm the trend, the unemployment rate for January dropped to 7.9 percent, when armed forces personnel are counted in. That is two-tenths of a point below December's rate.)

But the big difference between the Administration and the "Blue Chip" consensus forecast is over interest rates, and that is the source of Wall Street's mounting anxieties. There is a gap of two percentage points — 200 "basis points" higher, in Wall Street jargon — enough in itself to explain the bearishness of the market.

A Few Cuts and Contradictions and a Small Down Payment on the Deficit

Reaction: Good Politics, Murky Math

IN the end, what was most remarkable about the President's Budget Message was how quickly, and how publicly, the President's own budget advisers backed away from it. Congressional reaction was as much political as economic, and more predictable. The Republicans' pet word was the same as last year's, though uttered with more caution: "realistic." The Democrats offered varying degrees of derision. And members of both parties recognized the document for what it was — a campaign treatise that skillfully trod the delicate line between claiming success for prosperity and blaming the opposition, sometimes Congress as a whole, sometimes just the Democrats, for the clear and present threat of a record string of budget deficits.

The legislators had been prepared by the President's State of the Union message two weeks ago, the inevitable pre-budget leaks and, in the case of Congressional Republicans, a courtesy briefing the day before the budget was formally submitted. They didn't wait for the day after, and White House officials to tell them, as chief economic adviser Martin S. Feldstein put it, "the budget is not what we want to see happen in 1985." They were already working on alternatives.

Democrats on the Senate Armed Services Committee pointed to contradictions they saw between the President's assertion that his policies have restored the United States to pre-eminent strength and the budget's request for a 9.3 percent military spending increase after inflation. Republicans had been studying the numbers too. Earlier in the week, Senator Pete V. Domenici, the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, called the military increase "too high," and proposed a cut of \$8 billion, to \$256 billion.

House Democrats meanwhile quickly upped the ante on the President's proposed three-year \$100 billion deficit "down payment" — the first installment of which, budget director David A. Stockman acknowledged under persistent questioning at the budget briefing, was calculated to come to \$20 billion. "At the very least," House majority leader Jim Wright of Texas said, "our total will be \$200 billion over three years."

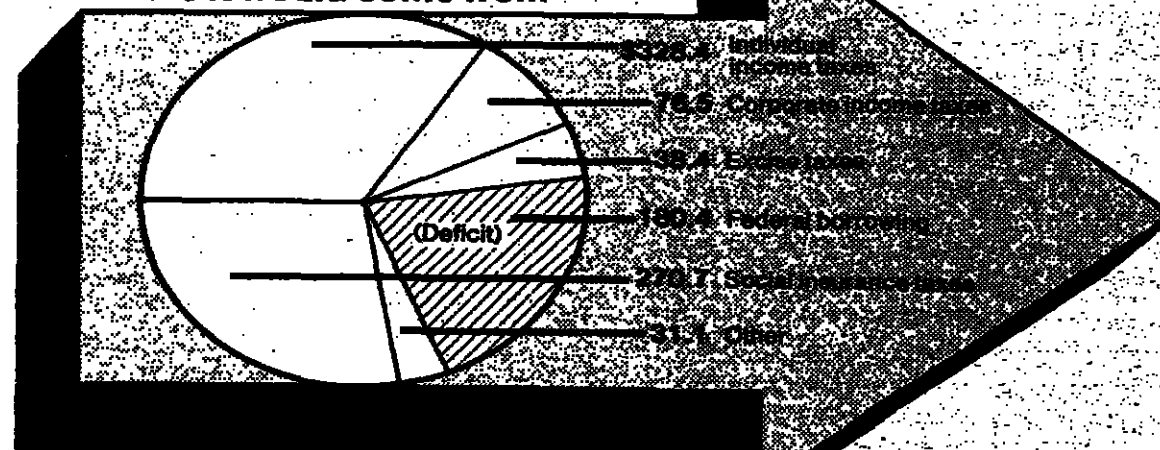
A central component would be tax increases aimed mainly at families earning more than \$50,000 a year.

As for domestic programs, there was a muted election-year sigh of relief that the President had blunted the issue of benefits for poor people by pulling back from his previous proposals for severe cuts. But there

Reagan's balance sheet

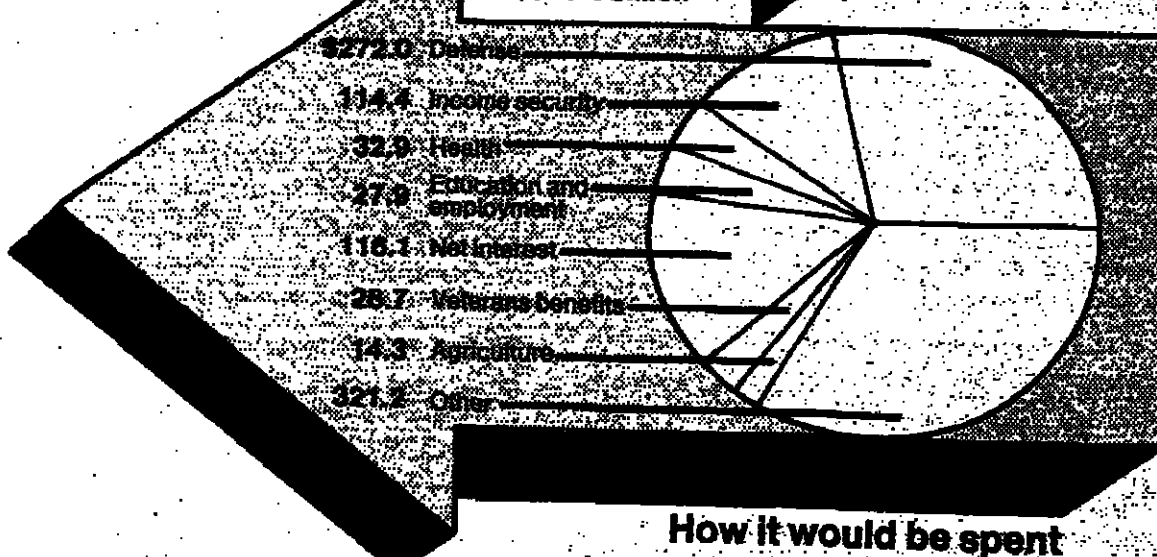
White house proposal for fiscal year 1985 budget: (in billions of dollars)

Where it would come from



Source: Office of Management and Budget

Total budget: \$925.5 billion



How it would be spent

was dark suspicion of his intentions if re-elected, and of "the steady withering" of domestic programs promised for later in the decade. Democrats rallied around the "fairness" banner. The President, said Senator Donald W. Riegle Jr., Democrat of Michigan, is "obviously planning a major attack on the middle class."

But for the moment, the focus was on 1984 and the

The worry about interest-rates attitude is directly traceable to the President's budget. It forecasts a long string of deficits (a markedly worse string is forecast by the Congressional Budget Office) through the rest of this decade, and these are expected to put heavy demands on money and capital markets, especially as the economy moves upward toward higher levels of employment and capacity use.

Mr. Reagan had hoped to push the issue of the deficits aside until the election was out of the way. But, in a sudden switch just before his State of the Union message, his budget and his Economic Report, he decided to dramatize the deficits, and by pushing the onus for them on the Democrats, to cast his re-election as his great remaining service to the state. "All signs," he said in his Budget Message, "point to continued strong economic growth, vigorous investment, and rising productivity, without renewed inflation — all but one." The bad sign, he said, was the threat of "indefinitely prolonged high budget deficits."

Martin S. Feldstein, the President's chief economic adviser, who had got into the White House dog house for being a crusader against deficits too forcibly, too publicly and too soon, spelled out the antideficit case in the report of the Council of Economic Advisers last week. The most important long-term effect of the deficits, his report said, would be to absorb a large share of domestic savings, cut the nation's rate of capital formation, hobble its long-term growth.

For the moment, the inflow of foreign capital, drawn by high real interest rates in this country, was paying for about half of all net investment in the United States. But this, said Mr. Feldstein, was "a very mixed blessing," since it implied a record trade deficit that was likely to soar above \$100 billion this year. The all-important key to curing America's falling exports and soaring imports was to reduce the budget deficit. For by raising interest rates and making the dollar too strong, the deficit was costing the nation millions of jobs and threatening the life of core industries. (The worrisome document was disowned by others in Administration.)

In Senate testimony Friday, Secretary of the Treasury Donald T. Regan, said that after the President's eight-page opening statement, "As far as I'm concerned, you can throw the rest away." When asked about the remark, Mr. Feldstein's comment was, "I suppose it was just a throwaway line."

The crucial question, however, is how — and when — to tackle the record deficits. The President made clear that he would not take on the task during the election campaign, except for a "down payment" of about \$100 billion in budget reduction for the next three years, provided that the Democrats in Congress were willing to negotiate the agreement. Meanwhile, Mr. Reagan would stress his fiscal responsibility by campaigning for constitutional amendments to balance the budget and give him "line-item" veto power over individual pieces of appropriations bills.

Mr. Reagan said he found the deficits he is projecting "totally unacceptable," and if he cannot accept his own deficits, who can? And Mr. Feldstein, interviewed on television, said, "None of us likes the budget, from the President on down."

As the economy continues to expand during the election year, the deficit is a cross the Administration is willing to bear a while longer. But what about after the election? Mr. Stockman, in the second of his embarrassingly candid magazine interviews, this time with Fortune, has said further cuts in the social areas would be slim pickings. The President refuses to concede that. He still appears determined to shrink "domestic spending" further, and to keep defense spending climbing and to preserve the heart of his fiscal revolution, the huge 1981 tax cuts.

Is there a way out? The President is looking hopefully at the report of the Grace Commission on cost control for a possible \$400 billion in savings over the next decade by cutting "waste and extravagance" in a politically acceptable way. And Secretary Regan has been assigned the task of reporting on a major, fundamental overhaul of the tax system — the report to be submitted December 1984 — a way to raise revenues painlessly and fairly without raising taxes. But for the time being, staring at that long string of deficits marching over the horizon, Wall Street worries.

hipartisan "down payment" talks starting this week. For all the reiterations by the President's men that little was off limits, the streetwise on Capitol Hill noted a conspicuous absence: the voice of the President himself. They listened most closely to Mr. Stockman, pushing too far beyond \$100 billion, he said, "could blow up in demagoguery" in an election year.

The World

Reagan Asks For More Aid To El Salvador

President Reagan agreed last week to make aid to El Salvador conditional on progress in human rights so long as the White House, not Congress, made the judgment call.

The President, acting on recommendations of his commission on Central America, said he would submit to Congress this week proposals to increase military aid to El Salvador by \$12 million over the next two years as part of the commission's recommendation for \$8 billion in total aid to the region over the next five years. Congress has already voted nearly \$5 million in military aid to El Salvador for fiscal year 1980 as part of a total economic and military aid package of some \$70 million for Central America. Backing pro-American governments in the region "won't be easy and won't be cheap," Mr. Reagan warned.

One difficulty is El Salvador's dismal record in protecting civilians from rightist death squads. The commission headed by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger called for tying further aid to the human rights question. Secretary of State George P. Shultz reminded the Salvadoran Government during a short visit last week that while "considerable" progress had been made, more was needed if Congress was to approve further aid requests.

Until November, the White House had to certify such progress to Congress as a condition for aid, but the President vetoed continuation of this procedure. His aides indicated that he would continue to oppose this "all-or-nothing" certification so as to keep control of "the spigot." He proposed instead semi-annual reports assessing Salvadoran policies. "For achieving political and economic development and conditions of security," Representative Michael D. Barnes, the Maryland Democrat who heads the House subcommittee on western hemisphere affairs, said, "That's clearly not going to respond to the concerns that the Congress has."

Last week, Robert S. White, who was removed as Ambassador to El Salvador in 1981, raised questions as to the White House's willingness to judge that country's civil rights record. In testimony to a House subcommittee, Mr. White said that the Administration had "covered up" evidence he had submitted that Roberto d'Aubuisson, the leading rightist candidate in the Presidential election next month, had been responsible for the murder of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero in 1980. Mr. White said he had also submitted evidence on six Salvadorans who, he charged, had been "directing the death squads from Miami." "Over the last three years, the Reagan Administration has suppressed the facts," he declared. A State Department spokesman denied any coverup, said all available information had been given to the House Foreign Affairs Committee and called Mr. White's evidence concerning Mr. d'Aubuisson "inconclusive." Mr. d'Aubuisson has also denied any connection to the Archbishop's killing.

Poland Eases Prices Upward

Poland's authorities appear to have learned something from the past. They raised food prices last



Saleswoman at a food store in Warsaw last week.

week, but by less than they would have liked and after a two-month notice and some consultation. In the past, large and sudden price increases have set off worker revolts that have badly shaken the Government.

An average increase of 10 percent was decreed on such basics as bread, milk and most cheeses and high-grade meat, instead of the 15 percent originally planned, to ease the burden of food subsidies on the budget. Even so, the official Polish press agency acknowledged there was discontent in the factories and a small demonstration in Wroclaw. But those trying to keep alive the flame of Solidarity, the outlawed trade union organization, seemed unable to launch a widespread protest movement although they had issued calls for one.

Apparently confident they had things in hand, the authorities rejected complaints from Lech Walesa, Solidarity's leader, that he was being harassed and his appeals for cooperation ignored. Mr. Walesa had said in a letter to Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski that officials had trumped up accusations of traffic violations and currency fraud against him. As if to continue the campaign of belittlement, General Jaruzelski did not answer but left it to a minor official, Zdzislaw Jurek, of the Office of Complaints and Letters, to dismiss Mr. Walesa's charges as publicity stunts.

Vatican Denies It Helped Nazis

Two historians of the Roman Catholic Church denied last week there was any substance to charges that the Vatican had sheltered Nazi war criminals and helped them flee Europe.

The accusations came to light in a 1947 State Department document recently made public and in the testimony of a Nazi refugee before a court in Chile. The report from Vincent La Vista, an American foreign service officer in Rome, called the Vatican the prime mover of illegal emigrants from Europe, including German Nazis and Italian Fascists. The Rev. Robert Graham, a Jesuit academic who was part of a commission that studied Vatican documents on the war during the 1960's, was quoted by the Italian press as having said that "the accusations in the report are founded on nothing but air." Father Graham was backed by a French Jesuit historian, the Rev. Pierre Blet, who called Mr. La Vista's report "artificial and false." A German priest, the Rev. Antonio Weber, who ran the Vatican-sponsored organization to aid emigrants, the Opera San Raffaele, said, "As far as I know, the Vatican never hid or aided Nazis after the war." The Rev. Romeo Panciroli, the Vatican spokesman, said the statements constituted "a clear reply" to the charges.

Walter Rautf, a Nazi accused of organizing the killing of thousands of Jews by asphyxiation in mobile vans, has lived in Chile for the past 25 years. In testimony cited by Serge Klarsfeld, a Nazi hunter in Paris, Mr. Rautf said he had taken refuge in convents in the Vatican for 18 months just after the war. Mr. Klarsfeld's wife, Beate, was arrested briefly in Santiago last week for leading a demonstration demanding Mr. Rautf's expulsion. The Chilean Government also turned down a request by Israel for his extradition.

Andropov Is For Unesco

Yuri V. Andropov, the name, is still in frequent use even if Yuri V. Andropov, the man, has not been seen since August. The name was at the bottom of a letter last week that pointedly expressed support for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which the United States has vowed to quit next January.

The letter to Unesco's director general, Amadou Mahtar M'bow of Senegal, referred to "those who try to set themselves against the community of states" and declared, "the peoples will become convinced once again who is their friend and who is their enemy." As if to leave no confusion, Mr. Andropov praised those things the United States has cited as reasons for leaving, the politicization of Unesco's programs and its efforts to promote a new information order that would restrict Western press agencies and reporters. The Soviet leader called for an end to "information imperialism" and saw Unesco's tasks as "inseparable from the struggle against racism, apartheid and the attempts to consolidate the system of inequitable economic relations."

Mr. Andropov did not mention the problem of Unesco's budget, which the Reagan Administration thinks is inflated. The United States contributes 25 percent of the budget, the Soviet Union 12 percent.

Henry Gidiger and Milt Friedman

Production of Coffee, Cotton and Sugar Has Plummeted



Workers at a lunch break on a nationalized farm in El Salvador.

Salvador's Economy Takes a Heavy Shelling

By STEPHEN KINZER

SAN SALVADOR — Four years of war in El Salvador have made economic prospects dim. Large expanses of farmland have been abandoned, and Salvadorans have taken about one billion dollars out of the country since guerrilla fighting began in 1979. Lack of confidence in the future discourages major new investment.

Because the economy depends heavily on the hard currency it earns from exporting coffee, cotton and sugar, it is especially vulnerable to rural guerrilla warfare. Where soldiers and guerrillas are fighting, landowners fear to plant and laborers are reluctant to till. Money must be set aside to hire guards and, in many cases, to pay "war taxes" to guerrilla bands. Last week, experts said the outlook for harvests now under way was not good.

A prominent cotton grower, Manuel Castellanos, said this year's total cotton crop would come to only a third of what was grown five years ago. The head of the National Sugar Institute, Ramon González Rivas, said sugar growers would not

meet their production goals, partly because of what he described as a guerrilla campaign to burn large sugar plantations.

Coffee production, which accounts for 60 percent of El Salvador's export earnings is suffering badly. The Government expects 2.2 million 100-pound bags this year, down from 4.5 million bags five years ago.

As the traditional economy has suffered jarring losses, the country has found a new source of sustenance — aid from the United States. A private study circulated last weekend among business leaders and economists says that economic aid to El Salvador now totals nearly \$1 million a day. A program through which Salvadoran businesses are provided with hard currency to buy equipment and raw materials abroad has shot from \$9.1 million in 1980 to \$140 million last year, and the Administration is seeking further increases.

American-sponsored public works programs employ thousands of people and American dollars pay to rebuild bridges, power stations and other facilities destroyed by guerrillas.

"We would not be surviving if it were not for

the aid," said Juan Vicente Maldonado, executive director of El Salvador's principal business federation. "There would be shortages, rationing and desperation, as in Nicaragua." A business manager in San Salvador agreed that American aid had been an effective life-support system for an economy that otherwise might have collapsed.

Mr. Maldonado and several other Salvadoran business leaders visited the United States last week to lobby for new forms of American assistance. Among their proposals is that the United States insure or guarantee new investments in El Salvador, either by foreigners or local entrepreneurs. "We need to remove some of the uncertainties," Mr. Maldonado explained.

There is much to fear if one is a businessman in El Salvador. Congress could cut back economic support funds. Rebel forces could accelerate their military advance. The most immediate fear is the possible election next month of the Christian Democratic leader José Napoleón Duarte, who is viewed as a virtual Communist by the moneyed class. American officials were reported last week to be concerned that a victory for Mr. Duarte might lead to a military coup. On the other hand, a victory for his principal rightist rival, Roberto d'Aubuisson, could also polarize the country and lead to increased activity by death squads.

Aid Has Strategic Aims

Despite such apprehensions, businessmen and economic analysts in El Salvador are not entirely pessimistic. They believe that the worst is over; everyone who was going to send his money abroad, abandon his land or give up his factory has already done so, they say.

The American desire to keep El Salvador's economy afloat is part of its larger strategy for defeating the guerrilla insurgency. With about one-third of the population unemployed and rural farmworkers moving toward cities to escape violence, there is a large pool of people available for guerrilla recruitment.

An important goal of the American aid program is to give these people some opportunity for employment. Business leaders and aid administrators say it is succeeding, but critics say that programs aiding the private sector do not provide much benefit to the poor in a society as stratified as this one.

Sending large amounts of aid to countries traditionally ruled by corrupt officers carries other risks. A week ago, reporters visiting two markets in central El Salvador found more than a ton of donated American grains, all marked "Not to be sold or exchanged," being offered for sale. After reports of the discovery were published, authorities arrested three market women in what they said was a crackdown. Charles Gladson, head of the Food for Peace program, arrived here last week and said he would stay "as long as it takes" to investigate the allegations and insure that the program was being honestly run.

Some businesses in El Salvador thrive without any American aid at all. The San Andres textile company, which uses Salvadoran cotton to manufacture towels and terry cloth robes that are sold in prestigious stores around the world, is flourishing.

The surge of guerrilla violence has brought something of a boom to industries that profit from fear.

Private security guards are much in demand. Construction companies that specialize in building walls around factories and homes are flourishing. And the two air taxi companies that ferry passengers from San Salvador to the eastern part of the country are more profitable than ever, because many travelers are afraid to use the highways or at any rate find them difficult.

Assassinations Level Off and Support for Separatists Drops

Spain Is Containing Its Basque Problem

By JOHN DARTON

MADRID — The assassination was somehow both expected and surprising. For weeks the Spanish authorities, who were bearing down hard on E.T.A., were anticipating that the Basque separatist group would strike back. But when several young men gunned down a senior army reserve officer walking home from Sunday mass in Madrid, it was still a jolt to the country.

The killing of 67-year-old Lieut. Gen. Guillermo Quintana Lacaci churned up emotions that have long surrounded what is euphemistically called "the Basque problem." The crowd at his funeral was dotted with right-wingers who chanted, "The army to power," and "E.T.A. is guilty but the Government is responsible." Right-wing editorialists thundered. Roadblocks were thrown up around Madrid, but after a week the E.T.A. commando unit had not been found.

Underneath all the drama, however, the Socialist government of Prime Minister Felipe González had some cause for consolation. There was no indication that the chants of the neo-Fascists found any resonant chord inside the military barracks. Most military officers seem pleased by the Government's tough line on terrorism being pushed vigorously by the Minister of the Interior, José Barrionuevo.

Since it was founded in 1959, E.T.A., whose initials stand for Basque Homeland and Freedom, has undergone endless feuding and splits. Although the movement had a certain attraction for non-Basque Spaniards when it was taking on the Franco dictatorship, this has long since gone. Now its goal of sparking another military takeover or destabilizing the Government to such an extent that Basque independence will somehow emerge is repellent to the rest of the country, where anti-Basque, not just anti-E.T.A., sentiment is rising rapidly.

Many Spanish officials including Mr. González believe that the war against E.T.A. is being won both politically and militarily, although they concede that a long struggle lies ahead. They are encouraged by greater cooperation from France, which has begun moving E.T.A. activists out of its southern Basque region where they have traditionally taken refuge. They note that although E.T.A. carried out 43 assassinations last year, at least the number didn't jump from the year before — and was lower than in the peak period of Basque terrorism in 1979-80.

Politically, the officials assert, the two million Basques spread through the four northern provinces are being weaned away from support for E.T.A., which is thought to have several hundred armed militants. There are some signs to support



Prime Minister Felipe González at funeral for Lieut. Gen. Guillermo Quintana Lacaci in Madrid.

the contention. A recent opinion poll found that Basques declaring "unconditional support" for E.T.A. had dropped to four percent from eight percent between 1981 and 1983. Electoral trends indicate that the more moderate Basque Nationalist Party and the Socialists are steadily gaining in strength. But the extremist Herri Batasuna (People's Unity Party) still consistently gets 200,000 or more votes, making it the region's third major party.

Autonomy Is an Issue

There are further signs of E.T.A.'s weakening. The killing of a Spanish army captain last October prompted large antiterrorist demonstrations in Basque cities. Many Basque businessmen appear fed up with paying "revolutionary taxes" to E.T.A. extortionists. And more than 100 former E.T.A. members belonging to a faction that has renounced violence have negotiated a peaceful return to Spain.

Balanced against these signs is the realization that the advent of democracy has not truly settled the Basque problem, that the aspirations for a large measure of Basque autonomy have not been fully met, and that the region is still rife with distrust, polarization and violence.

Part of the problem has been the slowness with which autonomous powers have devolved to the

Basque region. The Statute of Guernica, approved in 1979, provided for the turnover of considerable powers. These were cut back in a law passed in 1981, after a coup attempt apparently made politicians fear that too much decentralization would antagonize the army. The new, more restrictive law was overturned as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court last year, so now the situation is murky and is being decided in case-by-case negotiations.

It is perhaps moot whether the continuing terrorism is caused by the slowness in implementing devolution or vice versa. But the effects of rapid implementation would likely be beneficial. The establishment of a Basque police force responsible for all security, for example, would be popular and remove targets for E.T.A. men at the same time. So far, the Basque police have been given only secondary tasks, like directing traffic and guarding public buildings.

The outlook is also made uncertain by labor unrest, which is running high in the industrial Basque region and affords opportunities to nationalist extremists. As the rest of the country hardens its attitudes and as the police are given wider latitude to pick up suspects and detain them without charge, the natural reaction among Basques is to pull together, as they have in the past when confronted with hostility from Madrid.

Egypt, Jordan and the P.L.O. Break With Tradition of Unanimity

Emerging Arab Coalition May Have a Moderating Influence

By JUDITH MILLER

CAIRO — The Middle East is a region where optimism is hard to come by. But some Western diplomats admitted last week to feeling slightly encouraged by the emergence of a group of "moderate" Arab powers that are seeking to devise a joint plan for peace negotiations with Israel.

Officials in Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and the Palestine Liberation Organization — key players in the evolving moderate coalition — continued their flurry of diplomatic exchanges, pronouncements and meetings. King Hussein of Jordan confirmed that he had invited President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt to Amman to discuss ways to end hostilities between the Arabs and Israel. And Egypt formally accepted an apparently unconditional invitation to rejoin the 45-member Islamic Conference Organization, which ousted it when it made peace with Israel in 1979. The Reagan Administration did what it could to move things along; special Middle East envoy Donald H. Rumsfeld stopped in Amman and Baghdad for discussions with Jordanian and Iraqi officials.

"Moderate" is a relative term, diplomats stress. Egypt, Jordan and the others appear more pragmatic and less radical than other states in the region, such as Syria, Iran, Libya and South Yemen, which have rejected, at least publicly, resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict through American-sponsored negotiations with Israel. By contrast, Egypt has made peace with Israel and Jordan has expressed a willingness to do so. Even Yasir Arafat, the beleaguered chairman of the P.L.O. with whom the Administration still refuses to deal, now says he is ready to discuss a joint peace plan with Egypt and Jordan, although he has yet to recognize explicitly Israel's right to exist.

Israel strenuously objects to use of the word "moderate." There is nothing moderate, it argues, about Mr. Arafat, who claimed responsibility for the recent bombing of a civilian bus in Jerusalem. Nor do the Israelis see anything particularly moderate about Iraq, which, until its war with Iran, was counted among Israel's most ardent and internally oppressive foes. Israel denounced the

meeting between Mr. Arafat and Egyptian President Mubarak last December as a violation of at least the spirit of the Camp David accords. Washington, however, "welcomed" the meeting and appears intent on encouraging efforts among Arab leaders to explore peace options among themselves. Besides, Western diplomats maintain, the alternative to Mr. Arafat's branch of the P.L.O. is the much more uncompromising Syrian-backed Palestinian rebels headquartered in Damascus.

In a recent news conference, King Hussein called upon the United States to help promote peace by pressur-

ing Israel to withdraw forces from Lebanon and to stop expanding its settlement cities in the occupied West Bank. But the King also chided the Arabs for relying too much on America and other outsiders to solve essentially Arab problems. Consequently, the King has launched a diplomatic offensive against one of the biggest obstacles to the development of a cohesive moderate Arab bloc: the Arabs' traditional insistence on making decisions by consensus, rather than by majority rule.

The King asserted that the tradition had bred paralysis and enabled minorities to block progress on any issue.



P.L.O. leader Yasir Arafat meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo in December.

He did not name culprit countries, but the clear implication of his remarks was that Syria and other radical states were using the practice to help block negotiations to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and other disputes. In the current system, a lone member of the Arab League can veto a plan for negotiations with Israel. Hussein had to interrupt his campaign against this system last week for health reasons; he entered a hospital in Cleveland for treatment of a bleeding ulcer.

Mr. Arafat apparently shares the King's opinion on the consensus issue. Palestinians say that discussions between Jordan and the P.L.O. over peace talks with Israel broke down last April because Mr. Arafat was blocked by the more radical elements in his own group. Several of these opponents are now among the rebels in Damascus. Mr. Arafat wants to replace them on the P.L.O.'s executive committee with his supporters when the Palestine National Council, the Parliament in exile, convenes this month. If he has his way, the new members will be chosen by majority vote. Unless he succeeds, analysts here maintain, Mr. Arafat will be unable to secure the support he needs for an agreement with King Hussein. Supporters of majority rule have been bolstered by the Islamic group's decision to reinstate Egypt, despite vigorous protests by Syria, Libya and others.

Judith Kipper, a Middle East specialist at the Washington-based American Enterprise Institute, calls the action one of the most important recent developments in Arab affairs. "Majority rule in Arab circles would fundamentally change the dynamics of Arab politics," Miss Kipper said. "It would constitute a dramatic step toward more democratic procedures."

The emerging Arab bloc faces other obstacles. Several of the prospective members, such as Iraq and Tunisia, are weak. Saudi Arabia, whose support is deemed essential, has thus far appeared unwilling to promote the moderates aggressively. Arab rivalries breed mutual distrust. These factors do not bode well for the so-called moderates. But King Hussein has challenged the Arabs to work together pragmatically on ending the conflict with Israel. The fate of his proposal to end the tradition of consensus may provide an important clue as to whether his broader goals will be met.

A Small but Growing Number Conscientiously Object

For Some Israelis, Lebanon War Is the Limit

By DAVID K. SHIPLER

JERUSALEM — Among the statistics of the Lebanon war, one of the more significant provided by the Israeli Army stood last week at 110. That was the number of Israeli soldiers sent to prison so far for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

Zvi Zoref is one of them. A scholarly-looking, 27-year-old history student at Hebrew University, he spent 37 days as a reservist with his artillery unit shelling West Beirut in the summer of 1982. In September of the same year, he was called again. He refused to go and was sentenced to 27 days in what the army calls Prison Six, a fenced-in tent camp in northern Israel. He was only the third to be imprisoned, the vanguard of a spreading movement called "Yesh Gvul" — "There's a Limit."

"I was shocked during the war," he said. "I saw terrible things there. We got the order and started shelling Palestinian refugee camps in southern Beirut. We were located in hills south of Beirut. We could see our shells fall, and the light of the explosions." He winced. "It was evening. It was just terrible. It went on for four hours, and then we got an order to stop it. Everybody thought the bombing and shelling would keep the P.L.O. there quiet and the Israeli Army could enter Beirut with few

casualties. I said, 'If we're going to Beirut, I'll just take my things and go home.' I couldn't stand it anymore."

Mr. Zoref now casts his refusal in terms of principle, arguing that the war was not forced on Israel and had political aims. "Many feel that the Government, by sending the army into Lebanon, broke an unwritten agreement between the Government and the people," he said, "that the people would be asked to sacrifice their lives only to do something they believed in." Noting the casualties, 567 Israelis dead and 3,240 wounded as of last week, Mr. Zoref declared, "I just feel it was for nothing."

Not all who refuse are imprisoned. Commanding officers are sometimes understanding. Called up twice since prison, Mr. Zoref has been relieved from duty in Lebanon by his commander's acceptance of the excuse that his studies would suffer. Robert Barvolygi, 30, a reserve sergeant in the military police, had a disorienting experience when both he and his officer, a lieutenant, refused an assignment to guard captured Palestinians at the Ansar prison camp in southern Lebanon. The lieutenant was court-martialed and sentenced to Prison Six; Sergeant Barvolygi was not punished but was transferred to the same prison as a guard.

"We had a very interesting situation in which I became his commander," Mr. Barvolygi chuckled. Later, Mr. Barvolygi served two prison terms himself after

continuing to refuse duty in Lebanon.

This "war of choice" has been a new experience for Israel, and so has the conscientious objection accompanying it. The country that once fought only for its own survival previously enjoyed a crucial consensus of its people's army. Above all other institutions, the army was Israel's universal leveler and integrator, blending the diverse population in an endeavor beyond politics, commanding the same loyalty as the nation itself.

The Army Worries

It may be too early to say that this has been lost, but something has certainly changed. In previous wars there have been a few desertions and in recent years occasional refusals on principle to serve in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. But nothing approaching the current scope of resistance has been seen before.

"The army, I think, was a bit slow in grasping the magnitude, or the severity, rather, of this behavior," said Brig. Gen. Yaacov Even, the army's spokesman. "I think now we do understand, and I don't think any senior officer is going to be forgiving. The army takes it very seriously, although the phenomenon is marginal. It's only 110 out of many thousands. So the numbers do not frighten us. But the phenomenon is very serious because it is endangering the very basis of our democracy, of our

discipline, of our behavior as reserve soldiers."

Defining the magnitude of the resistance is difficult. While the 110 who have been imprisoned represent only a tiny fraction of the armed forces, they exclude those quietly transferred by sympathetic commanders to duty inside Israel and those who avoid Lebanon by producing false medical excuses and stories of family crises. The Yesh Gvul movement says these are numerous.

"This claim cannot be proved or disproved," countered General Even. "I have a feeling that it is not commonly so. In Lebanon, the lack of manpower is enormous. The Awwal River is a long line, the missions are very tiring, and they lack people. I don't think the battalion commanders or regiment leaders are going to give up their soldiers easily just for the pleasure of ideology." He said that refusals might have depleted logistics units but that statistics showed that reserve combat units were up to their normal strength.

General Even stressed that virtually all those who had refused were reservists and that nobody had resisted during the first three months after the Israeli invasion in June 1982. "All this came later, from September or October on," he said, "when the really tough fighting was already ended, and the staying, just the staying, got on the nerves of people."

The army has limited sentences to 35 days but has won court authorization to imprison recalcitrant reservists repeatedly. A different remedy was proposed by a fellow soldier after Noam Kamnitzer, a medic, returned to his unit after prison. "He said if it were up to him," Mr. Kamnitzer reported, "he would put a bullet in my head."

New Plays Open in Basements, Jazz Echoes in Factory Halls

Avant-Garde Russian Arts Evolve on the Brink of Dissidence

By SERGE SCHMEMANN



A Moscow theater troupe directed by Sergei Melkonian rehearsing in a small hall.

MOSCOW — Handwritten signs marked "Exhibition" showed the way to the basement of a nondescript apartment house. Many of the paintings were simply hung by string from steam pipes, their titles announced on typewritten scraps of paper glued to the wall. But as expected the intelligentsia turned up in force, filling the small cellar with tobacco smoke and gossip. It was, after all, the first one-man exhibition by Anatoly Zverev, and many in the basement remembered when his bold canvases, austere sketches and bright graphics were viewed only in private homes, and discussed quietly. They knew the basement, too. This was the space in the Graphic Artists Union that the authorities opened to avant-garde art in the wake of the furor over the bulldozing of an unofficial outdoor exhibition in 1974. In the intervening decade the gallery has become something of a home to art on the margins of the officially permissible.

The show was only one of several little-publicized events that tourists probably never hear of and that only a relative handful of Russians manage to attend. They included the Soviet premier of "Yellow Sound" by one of the country's best modern composers, Alfred Schnittke. The work was first heard in France nine years ago. Word of these events spreads largely through the intelligentsia grapevine, and tickets are usually passed among friends. None of these events are illegal or unsanctioned but neither do they carry the stamp of Government approval. They are, rather, offerings of that uniquely Russian cultural world suspended between the dissident art that causes sensation in the West and the official productions in the established theaters and movie houses across the Soviet Union. It is a world of tiny experimental theaters, obscure one-time shows and restricted-access halls, a world tolerated but not advertised by the state, one to which access is determined largely by membership and standing in that dimly defined class known as the intelligentsia. The boundaries between what the authorities might ban, tolerate or favor are as obscure and unfathomable as the tangle of the vast state bureaucracy.

It seems sometimes that a lively culture survives and even thrives beneath the veneer of official uniformity simply because the creative drive of an educated, fertile and endlessly curious nation will inevitably find outlets. Experimental theaters seem to sprout from nothing in the basements of bland apartment blocks, jazz ensembles appear unsolicited in factory auditoriums, restricted movies surface unheralded at obscure film clubs. Some of the liveliest acting in Moscow is tucked away in such little theaters, sometimes with fewer than 200 places. One, in the Yugo-Zapadnyi district, is renowned for its staging of Eugene Ionesco's plays and its

version of Evgeny Shvarts's "Dragon," an allegory in which townsfolk seem satisfied with their enslavement by an aged and decrepit dragon and oppose a knight who comes to slay him. People have been known to queue overnight for a ticket to the Moscow Chamber Opera, the creation of Boris A. Pokrovsky, 72, who also happens to be operatic stage director for the Bolshoi Opera. At his 200-seat studio, Mr. Pokrovsky stages little-known Russian operas, Western chamber operas and works by unknown young Soviet composers.

There are also the experimental stages of established theaters, and the halls and auditoriums of countless professional unions, institutes and factories, where poets, jazz ensembles, rock groups, satirists, balladeers, actors and other performers appear by private invitation, sometimes as a lure to attract workers to a dull ideological session. Vladimir Vysotsky, the immensely popular balladeer who died in 1980, gained national fame largely through such random appearances, where his songs were recorded and then passed hand-to-hand across the country. The ways of bypassing official restrictions seem endless, and often the only criterion seems to be that the audience be limited. After watching Mr. Schnittke's "Yellow Sound," a Moscow writer, proud that long-suffering Soviet culture could still produce something so advanced and creative, exclaimed, "Isn't it amazing? Just puncture one small hole through the thick tarpaulin of controls and look what an eruption of creativity you get!"

Vital Breathing Space

Though artists often believe it is they who are managing to break through the tarpaulin of controls, it seems equally the case that the authorities themselves permit a seepage that is just enough to relieve the pressure without being dangerous or provocative. At the Taganka, for example, director Yuri Lyubimov (currently in Italy) has been allowed to stage a tribute to Vysotsky, but only on the dates of the poet's birth and death. He has not been allowed to include it in his regular repertoire. Some writers and artists who have gone beyond what is officially permissible have landed in a labor camp or exile.

But for all the pitfalls, the existence of a gray area in official policy has given Soviet culture a vital breathing space, a zone where the cultural elite, at least, can experiment and share and the arts can subsist and even flourish. For the state, the extra dividend is often an art that can garner prestige and hard currency abroad without causing undue waves at home. Foreigners see one world, where Yuri V. Andropov is sick, Pravda attacks Ronald Reagan and intourist shows historic houses, one writer said. But the internal evolution of society goes on despite what is happening on high, and the authorities seem unable to stop it.

Bailing Out of the Mainframe

By DAVID E. SANGER

THE nation's computer industry should pass a remarkable milestone this year: For the first time, the value of desktop, personal computers sold in the United States — computers that were almost unheard of only eight years ago — will overtake sales of the large "mainframe" machines that first cast America as the leader in computer technology.

To many in the computer industry, that change is further evidence that an era of computer technology is being swept into history. "Mainframes are dying," said Michael L. Dertouzos, director of the laboratory for computer science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which helped to give birth to the mainframe four decades ago.

Professor Dertouzos may be overstating the case, but not by very much. Granted, mainframes are still used by thousands of big corporations, and they continue to be a very healthy source of profit for International Business Machines, the granddaddy of the industry. But the biggest segment of the mainframe business — mid-size machines that represent about four out of every five mainframe sales — has stopped growing and might soon begin to contract.

The prospect that mainframes are becoming an endangered species has forced five major manufacturers, collectively known as "the Bunch" (an acronym for Burroughs, Sperry's old Univac division, the NCR Corporation, the Control Data Corporation and Honeywell) to scramble for new niches in the computer industry. Their search has led them to Japan, for some new products. They have been hiring away I.B.M. employees to gain new ideas. And they are trying to move into the booming market for small desktop computers linked through complex "office automation" networks.

But the Bunch corporations are latecomers. Office systems and desktop, personal computers — more precisely, microcomputers costing \$4,000 and up — are dominated by such new powerhouses as Wang Laboratories and Apple Computer. And in the last two years, the desktop market has also been skillfully exploited by the ubiquitous I.B.M. As a result, the Bunch group has shared in only a tiny fraction of the revenue from desktop computer sales, which are mostly to corporations rather than to home users. Those sales are expected to jump to \$11.6 billion this year from \$7.5 billion last year. Meanwhile, mainframe sales will ease to \$11.4 billion from \$11.7 billion in 1983, with less than \$4 billion going to the Bunch companies in 1984 and most of the rest to I.B.M., according to the International Data Corporation, a research firm.

THE Bunch move into desktop systems "looks like too little, too late," said Jack Hart, an analyst at International Data. "There is a real question in my mind whether there is enough room for all of them over the next four or five years." Several analysts think there isn't and therefore two or three of the Bunch companies are soon likely to merge their computer operations. Honeywell and Sperry are often named as the most likely merger candidates.

The disarray among the Bunch companies has the industry wondering whether anyone other than I.B.M. will ever again be an innovative force in the mainframe arena. "The reality today is that it is just too expensive for a small participant to do it himself against an onrushing I.B.M.," said Ulrich Well, Morgan Stanley's computer industry analyst.

Already, Honeywell, the biggest of the Bunch group with nearly \$3 billion in annual revenue, has halted most research for its advanced mainframe and has laid off thousands of computer division employees. It has also announced plans to buy some of its mainframes from the Nippon Electric Company in Japan, for sale under the Honeywell label. Sperry is on a similar track. It introduced a new mainframe last year — made by Mitsubishi.

"When I looked at the cost of continuing to develop these large machines, even our installed base of \$12 billion was not big enough to justify the R.D.," said James J. Renier, who heads Honeywell's computer division. "I decided to count on Nippon for the hardware, and we will continue on the software."

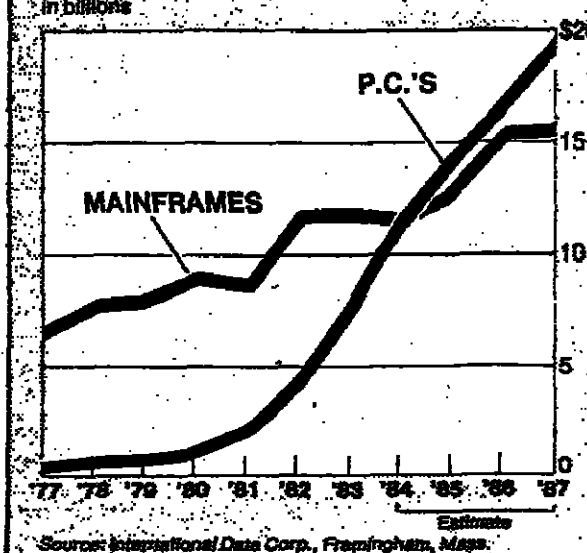
Mainframes are the large, powerful general-purpose computers that first emerged in the 1940's from the computer laboratories of Harvard and M.I.T. In fact, those early mainframes were the computer industry and only the richest corporations and government agencies could afford them. With their endless rows of vacuum tubes, some were so large they filled a gymnasium-size room. But by the 1960's, the new technology of miniaturized circuitry made possible the advent of the microcomputer, a refrigerator-size machine powerful enough to take over some of the mainframe's tasks.

Of course, a General Motors or a United States Steel or a government still needs a complex, powerful mainframe computer with enough electronic memory and circuitry to store and rapidly process the huge amounts of information that must be marshaled to print out the nation's monthly Social Security checks, or a major corporation's payroll, or to keep track of a multinational's worldwide inventories. I.B.M. has always made most of these machines — which start at \$2 million apiece — and their sales continue to rise, along with those of the Am-

Plight of the Mainframe Makers

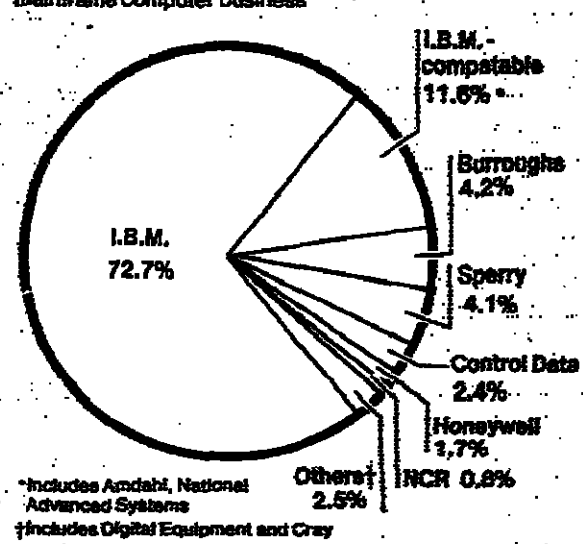
Loosing Ground to P.C.'s

U.S. sales of mainframe and personal computers, in billions



In a Market Dominated by I.B.M.

Marketshare of the major players in the U.S. mainframe computer business



dahl Corporation and Cray Research, a supercomputer maker.

But the midsize models, the sort of mainframes that a smaller corporation would buy for \$200,000 and up to perform the same tasks, are increasingly being displaced by sophisticated microcomputers, and also a new generation of desktop microcomputers powerful enough, despite their size, to do some mainframe work. That sort of technology has blurred once-clear distinctions between mainframes and other types of computers.

Fundamentally, it is hard to picture the mainframe business ever again becoming the dynamic enterprise it was in the 60's and 70's," said Charles E. Exley Jr., president of the NCR Corporation, which many experts consider the most successful of the Bunch companies in making the transition from mainframes to smaller systems. "That does not mean it isn't a good business, but for growth we simply have to go elsewhere."

One reason for that is that I.B.M. has cut off their growth at about 13.2 percent of the market because its mainframes have become the overwhelming industry standard. In the past few years, a crucial I.B.M. design for communications between mainframes has become so widely accepted that the Bunch companies — which once reveled in their independence from I.B.M. standards —

Five major producers have lost to I.B.M. Now 'the Bunch' is making a late start in the volatile small computer market.

are forced to make sure their computers can "interface" or talk to Big Blue's. That I.B.M. victory appears to kill off motivation for innovative technology, although executives in the Bunch companies dispute this.

The Bunch group, in fact, continues to introduce new mainframes, which it contends represent technological advances, although critics say the improvements are too minor to be significant. For example, two weeks ago Burroughs introduced what it described as a new generation of mainframes, and NCR has concentrated on using microcomputer technology to reduce its general purpose mainframes to about the size of a suitcase. "We have increased our R.D. 50 percent and brought out a whole new line of mainframes in the past year that are the most innovative in the industry," said Robert F. Holmes, a senior vice president of Burroughs.

That's a contention that some Burroughs customers challenge. "We see a real slowdown in innovation, in the concentration on being different," said Richard A. Lewis, data processing manager of Bruln & Company, an Indianapolis chemical manufacturer, and president of an independent group of Burroughs equipment users. "They are no longer willing to take a chance."

In fact, Honeywell's deal with Nippon Electric for sophisticated mainframes was an outright acknowledgment that innovation is too expensive. Mr. Renier said the decision to sell these computers with a Honeywell label required a major "change of culture" at the company. With Nippon doing the mainframe manufacturing, Honeywell is free to concentrate its strengths on such other fields as environmental control systems for buildings, production control systems for factories and the de-

sign of specialized computer programs.

Sperry, whose latest midsize mainframe is built primarily by Mitsubishi, makes the same argument. "More important than who makes our parts is making sure they all work together," says James B. Aldrich, Sperry's vice president of products, strategy and marketing support. "This is all part of being a systems supplier who sells not just computers to his customers, but solutions."

But that argument skirts the question of whether in marketing new systems the Bunch companies should risk losing their own identity by simply selling I.B.M.-compatible equipment. It's a "horrible dilemma," Mr. Weil said. "If they become too compatible with I.B.M., they face the desertion of their longtime customers" who could choose I.B.M.'s own equipment, he said. "If they stay unique, they lock in their own customers" who would find a sudden transition to I.B.M. equipment too expensive and disruptive, "but they attract no new customers."

Indeed, even long-time Bunch customers are getting nervous about their mainframes. Many are apparently turning to I.B.M. to update their systems. "Just in the past few months, we have seen a number of our biggest users defect," said Mr. Lewis of the Burroughs user group, which acts as a sort of consumer advocate for those who operate Burroughs computers. Mr. Hart of International Data concurs: "Every month you hear about another Control Data site that I.B.M. has picked off."

Even if I.B.M. weren't the huge problem it is, the cost of developing new and faster mainframe computers has soared far beyond what it was a few years ago — and often beyond the reach of companies seeking to enter the mainframe field with a new product. That was the experience last month of Trilogy Ltd., which is seeking to develop a new mainframe in a venture led by Gene Amdahl, the founder of Amdahl, with investments from Sperry and Digital Equipment, among others. The new technology for this mainframe centers on an attempt to place an extraordinary number of circuits on the silicon "wafers" from which computer chips are cut. In January, however, the Trilogy said that the project had been delayed at least until late 1985 by costly technical problems. And last week the Storage Technology Corporation, which made its name in "plug compatible" disk drives that fit I.B.M.'s machines, last week scrapped its two-year effort to build a small, powerful mainframe, saying it was simply too expensive.

Most executives of the Bunch companies acknowledge that with the evidence mounting two or three years ago that the mainframe market would shut down on them, they should have moved more quickly to develop new products, including word processors, retail sales terminals, automatic teller machines, desktop personal computers and "distributed systems," the industry's ungrateful term for the networks that link hundreds, sometimes thousands of office computers.

Some argue that the Bunch companies didn't act because they simply didn't recognize the fundamental change taking place in the economics of computer power. For years, it was a basic tenet that the bigger the computer, the more economical it was to use because so much more calculating could be done at so little incremental cost. But the advent of microprocessors in the mid-1970's — based on thumbnail-sized chips packed with thousands of circuits — upset the conventional economics. "The cost curves were completely reversed," said Mr. Exley of NCR. "Today, the lowest-priced machines and the smaller ones can execute an instruction at a fraction of the cost of the largest."

But Mr. Weil argues that the Bunch companies saw the changes on the way; they simply failed to react.

Prospects

Explaining the Stock Slide

What's been pushing the stock market down in recent weeks? Of all the reasons market analysts offer for why investors are building their cash positions elsewhere, perhaps none is as pertinent as the fact that returns on Treasury bills and bonds remain greater than the average income from stock dividends.

Until recently, the market's strong advance had overshadowed the high yields on financial instruments. But

now, investors appear to be comparing stock dividends with yields on competitive investments. "With increasing signs that the market and general economy may be a bit tired, professional portfolio managers are once again shopping for yields," said Raymond T. Dalio, president of Bridge-water Associates, an economic consulting firm in Wilton, Conn.

Last week, short-term investors found that rates on Treasury bills were 4.7 percent above the average

stock dividend yield, Mr. Dalio says, while long-term investors found that Treasury bond yields were 3.7 percent higher.

"Unless the economy starts moving at a stronger pace or interest rates start declining, Treasury and other money market investments will continue to absorb outflows from the stock market," he adds.

The confusion "will intensify as I.B.M. moves deeper into telecommunications and American Telephone becomes a more aggressive factor in automated office systems, with everyone else seeking trying to find a position between the two," says Howard S. Schachter, director of technical research at Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette.

Given this situation, he believes the next stage of office automation will be a strong effort by the computer industry to standardize its equipment and technology.

"We will continue to see mind-boggling developments in electronic mail systems, the merging of data processing with telecommunications, and other advances," he says. "But unless the business users of the new technology can communicate with each other in the same language, as it were, many won't be able to benefit from the new generations of computer-based office systems."

Arthur S. Kirsch, a vice president at Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc., says that tougher laws, public advertising campaigns and peer pressure have combined to weaken profits industrywide. While it is too early to trace precisely how the push has depressed sales, Mr. Kirsch expects the industry to move from bad to worse next year.

Lee S. Isgur, vice president and technology specialist at Paine Webber Mitchell Hutchins, explains: "Basically, the laser disks will save library space because they will have 100 times the capacity of today's floppy disks. The entire Encyclopaedia Britannica could be put on one or two disks. So could Gray's Anatomy, with illustrations."

One side of each disk will have the capacity to store as many as 54,000 frames, or pages, in color or black and white. The reader's computer could be programmed so that a particular passage or page could be summoned to the screen, in a "search" much like those in word processor software.

H. J. Maidenberger

The profit outlook for the alcoholic beverage industry this year is not a bright one. According to one analyst that prospect can be traced to the growing legal and social pressure to eliminate drunken drivers from the nation's highways.

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Burning the Midnight Disk

The electronic library is on the way. Bookworms and students who have struggled long and hard against addition to the tube will start reading and studying books imprinted on laser disks later this year. The disks, used with home computers, would project pages or parts of pages on an ordinary family television screen.

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H. J. Maidenberger

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Another Merger In Big Steel

U.S. Steel agreed to buy National Steel in a \$1 billion deal. The nation's No. 1 steel maker is seeking to strengthen its position in the industry, while National Intergroup, National Steel's parent, is trying to get out of the steel business altogether. The proposed merger is similar to another between LTV Corporation's Jones & Laughlin steel unit and Republic Steel. If the Justice Department approves these deals, the U.S. industry, which has suffered considerably from foreign competition, is expected to shrink and become more efficient by the end of the decade. National Intergroup would be left essentially with financial services and aluminum operations. U.S. Steel has been closing inefficient plants to bolster its profitability and the acquisition of National's business, the seventh-largest in the steel industry, would be another step in that direction. National's operations are mainly in steel for consumer goods, a profitable area in which U.S. Steel is weak.

These plant closings were costly for U.S. Steel. It reported a widened loss of \$883 million for the fourth quarter of 1983, primarily a result of the asset write-down from the closings, plus weak steel and oil prices.

Armco quit insurance. The No. 3 steel maker, taking a different



Robert Goldfarb

course, said it wanted to focus on industrial products and related services. It signed a letter of intent to sell its insurance business, which has suffered heavy losses, to Allianz Versicherungs of West Germany. Armco said it was no longer able to offset underwriting losses with tax credits.

The big engine contract. General Electric won 75 percent of a \$10 billion

to \$14 billion Pentagon contract for jet engines. G.E. and the Pratt & Whitney unit of United Technologies have been vying for 18 months for the contract to build the engines for F-15 and F-16 fighters. The smaller share for Pratt & Whitney was a blow for the Hartford company, which has been the main supplier of these engines. Martin Marietta, meanwhile, won a key \$684 million contract to supervise a \$10 billion to \$20 billion modernization of the nation's air traffic control program.

Mattel is quitting electronics. It announced plans to sell its Intellivision video game business to a company formed by Terrence E. Valeski, a Mattel senior vice president. Mattel said it would concentrate on toy and hobby operations. Commodore International, one of the survivors in the personal computer wars, is facing increasing disarray. Four executives, including Donald F. Richard, the president of American operations, have quit in the wake of the resignation of the company's founder and president, Jack Tramiel.

Stocks fell sharply, with some analysts sensing a bear market. The Dow Jones industrial average closed at 1,197.03, off 32.97 points for the week. It was the first time the average closed below 1,200 since Aug. 30. Vol-

ume for January was a record 2.22 billion shares. The Federal Reserve reported that the nation's money supply, M-1, fell by \$1.7 billion in the latest reporting week.

A budget deficit of \$180.4 billion in fiscal 1985 was projected by President Reagan, with spending at \$925.5 billion. The President said later in the week in his annual Economic Report that the deficits were "totally unacceptable" and must be pared. Democrats are likely to try to cut defense spending.

A simmering feud within the Administration exploded Friday when Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan, testifying on Capitol Hill, said of the President's Economic Report, "as far as I'm concerned, you can throw it away." The report was written chiefly by Martin Feldstein, the President's chief economic adviser. Mr. Regan and Mr. Feldstein have been at odds.

Leading indicators rose six-tenths of 1 percent in December, suggesting further growth ahead for the economy. Much of the rise was attributed to expanded borrowing by business and consumers. Retailers reported sales gains in January. Sears Roebuck sales, for example, increased 9.1 percent. In the fourth quarter, productivity in private nonfarm businesses inched up by an annual rate of 1 percent. For the full year, productivity rose 3.1 percent, the biggest rise since 1976.

Daniel F. Cuff

| The New York Stock Exchange | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--------|
| MOST ACTIVE STOCKS | | | | |
| WEEK ENDED FEBRUARY 3, 1984 | | | | |
| Company | Sales | Last | Net Chng | |
| ATTW | 11,477,400 | 17 | - | % |
| Texaco | 10,698,800 | 40% | + 3% | |
| AT&T | 8,209,900 | 65% | - | % |
| IBM | 6,926,900 | 110% | - 3% | |
| Mfr Han | 6,323,200 | 40% | - | % |
| Gulf Cp | 6,230,900 | 55% | + 3% | |
| G Mot | 5,704,200 | 70% | - 4% | |
| Hou NG | 5,574,400 | 60 | + 1/2 | |
| Exxon | 5,181,800 | 39% | + 1/2 | |
| Mobil | 4,647,400 | 30% | + 1/2 | |
| N Seml | 4,621,300 | 14% | - 1 | |
| Sony Cp | 4,578,500 | 16% | + 1/2 | |
| Chrysr | 4,321,200 | 29% | - 1/2 | |
| Xerox | 4,128,300 | 41% | - 7/8 | |
| Mer Ly | 4,070,500 | 27% | - 2% | |
| Standard & Poor's | | | | |
| 400 Indust | 185.4 | 180.7 | 180.8 | -3.77 |
| 20 Transp | 149.9 | 142.0 | 142.2 | -8.93 |
| 40 Util | 89.3 | 88.4 | 88.0 | -0.39 |
| 40 Financial | 15.1 | 17.7 | 17.7 | -0.30 |
| 500 Stocks | 164.6 | 160.6 | 160.9 | -3.03 |
| Dow Jones | | | | |
| 30 Indust | 1239.8 | 1192.0 | 1197.0 | -32.97 |
| 20 Transp | 589.8 | 531.4 | 535.3 | -31.78 |
| 15 Util | 133.7 | 131.1 | 131.8 | -0.77 |
| 65 Comb | 492.1 | 470.2 | 472.7 | -15.88 |
| The American Stock Exchange | | | | |
| MOST ACTIVE STOCKS | | | | |
| (Consolidated) | | | | |
| Company | Sales | Last | Net Chng | |
| WangB | 2,674,900 | 28 | - | 2% |
| TIE | 1,380,500 | 20% | - | 2% |
| DomeP | 1,248,300 | 3-3/16 | + 1/2 | |
| DorGas | 1,124,900 | 21% | + 1/2 | |
| PeiLaw | 803,300 | 8% | - | % |
| MCO Hd | 597,000 | 14 | - | % |
| EchoB | 579,000 | 7% | + 1/2 | |
| Cyprus | 530,000 | 3% | + 1/2 | |
| NIPatnt | 527,400 | 24 | - | 6 |
| Amdih | 461,800 | 17% | - | 1/2 |
| MARKET DIARY | | | | |
| | Last Week | Prev. Week | | |
| Advances | 713 | 737 | | |
| Declines | 1,327 | 1,300 | | |
| Total Issues | 2,248 | 2,239 | | |
| New Highs | 63 | 101 | | |
| New Lows | 101 | 57 | | |
| VOLUME | | | | |
| (4 P.M. New York Close) | Last Week | Year To Date | | |
| Total Sales | 544,324,089 | 2,543,520,341 | | |
| Same Per. 1983 | 393,008,398 | 2,183,561,786 | | |
| WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES | | | | |
| | High | Low | Last Change | |
| New York Stock Exchange | | | | |
| Indust | 110.3 | 107.9 | 107.9 | -2.41 |
| Transp | 83.7 | 80.4 | 80.4 | -4.53 |
| Util | 47.8 | 47.1 | 47.1 | -0.01 |
| Finance | 94.2 | 92.8 | 92.8 | -1.40 |
| Composite | 95.1 | 92.9 | 92.9 | -1.79 |
| The American Stock Exchange | | | | |
| | Last Week | Prev. Week | | |
| Advances | 201 | 275 | | |
| Declines | 582 | 512 | | |
| Total Issues | 910 | 913 | | |
| New Highs | 19 | 35 | | |
| New Lows | 43 | 28 | | |
| VOLUME | | | | |
| (4 P.M. New York Close) | Last Week | Year To Date | | |
| Total Sales | 32,579,980 | 166,252,635 | | |
| Same Per. 1983 | 38,947,440 | 225,128,075 | | |

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAY SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

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HOWARD BISHOP, V.P., Employee Relations
RUSSELL T. LEWIS, V.P., Circulation
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller
ELISE J. ROSS, V.P., Systems

For Their Own Good

In order to succeed, the poor need most of all the spur of their poverty. Remember "Wealth and Poverty," the 1981 book by a social commentator named George Gilder? People in the brand-new Reagan Administration found it a harsh, welcome philosophical handbook. They still do, as is richly evident in a new book, the Budget of the United States Government for 1985.

It would increase defense spending. It would increase the national debt. And it would increase poverty, for its proposed spending cuts would fall most heavily on the backs of the poor.

There are only three ways to reduce the immense deficits the Reagan Administration is racking up: slow down defense spending, increase taxes or hold back spending for "entitlements." Which of these steps is Mr. Reagan willing to take?

Cut defense. Not a chance. He proposes another fat increase for the Pentagon.

Raise taxes. Are you crazy? Don't you know this is an election year?

Cut entitlements. Which ones? There are two kinds. One kind refers to Federal aid that everyone is entitled to, needy or not, like Social Security. To take on these entitlements, especially in an election year, would require political courage. They involve huge amounts for huge constituencies. These social programs cost about \$306 billion a year, a third of all Federal spending.

The other kind of entitlements are means-tested programs, like food stamps. To qualify, you have to prove you are poor. These entitlements, aimed di-

rectly at the people most in need, cost much less, about \$68 billion a year.

Mr. Reagan wants to cut both kinds of entitlements. Observe how bravely: He would cut \$2.1 billion out of the \$306 billion for entitlements with powerful political support. He would cut \$2.8 billion out of the \$68 billion for the truly needy.

Even his proposed cuts in the broad social programs are regressive, affecting the poorest recipients most. But the proposed cuts in means-tested programs will hurt more, especially considering how much Mr. Reagan has already hacked at them. The food stamp proposals are illustrative.

Barely a month ago, Mr. Reagan's own special study commission on hunger urged him to increase food stamp spending by \$200 million or more. The new budget would cut spending by \$374 million. It's not called a cut. No, what the budget expresses is a desire "to encourage states to improve program integrity" — and suddenly reduce the "error rate" in benefit payments to 3 percent. But for most states, that's impossibly low. The Fed's own error rate, in a simpler welfare program they run themselves, is more like 4 percent.

In any case, the states are already under powerful pressure to reduce error. The new idea wouldn't cut any more error — but it would reduce anti-hunger spending.

The President wants to spend more on defense, but doesn't want to collect more taxes to pay the bill. So who pays? Over time, he's passing the buck, in the hundreds of billions, to our children, who'll have to cough up to meet the immense deficits. And who pays in the meantime? The poor. Philosopher Gilder should be beaming.

Laundry-List Diplomacy

Last week, the United States accused the Soviet Union of violating arms control treaties. This week, Moscow replied in kind. The charges are less worrisome than the fact of the exchange. Such public acrimony serves only to undermine public support for arms control and the private channel long used to resolve complicated technical disputes. The blame for initiating this damaging laundry-list diplomacy rests squarely with the Administration.

The Soviet-American channel for addressing problems that arise from arms control treaties is the Standing Consultative Commission. It resolved all disagreements brought to it during the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations. But President Reagan refused until recently even to discuss problems arising under the SALT II treaty, which he had promised to observe but refused to ratify. The excuse was that this might give the treaty legal force.

As a result, a backlog of Soviet and American concerns about compliance has accumulated. And officials and senators who want the pending SALT II and Threshold Test Ban treaties rewritten have pressed the Administration to allege Soviet violations of every sort of arms agreement.

Too compliantly, the White House has produced a vexing miscellany of charges. The accusation that the Russians supplied "yellow rain" toxins for use

in Southeast Asia rests on chemical evidence that the Government itself has been unable to confirm.

There is more substance in accusations concerning new Soviet radars and missile tests. Though there is no proof of Russian cheating or any imminent threat to national security, there is evidence of activity that might lead to treaty violations. The Russians contend that their powerful new radar at Abalakova is for space tracking. But contrary to the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty, it could also be used for missile defense. Now the Russians voice similar complaints about American radars. The standing commission exists to examine these suspicions.

Its protocol calls for confidential discussions. As the Russians point out, the Administration's public charges have bruised that convention. The Russians are not greatly communicative at the best of times, but that fact only emphasizes the American stake in the commission. The more serious the Administration's concerns, the more eager it should be to use the commission to resolve them.

Quiet discussions of weapons and the problems they raise are probably the most valuable feature of the whole arms control process. Public clamors about violations that might be explained or remedied only damage that process and discourage new agreements. Now that Mr. Reagan urges a more serious effort to negotiate arms control, his Administration needs to behave accordingly.

To Grandfather's House

Two years after Cheri-Gay LaFrance Layton and Roger Foster married, Mr. Foster adopted her four-year-old son, Mark. Because the Fosters didn't want Mark to know of his adoption, they forbade his paternal grandparents, George and Catherine Layton, to see him. The Laytons sued for visitation rights and won. They hadn't seen Mark since the day, two years ago, when he waved from a supermarket parking lot. Last Saturday, he spent three hours with them.

It's a sad story, although it ends happily for the Laytons, and presumably for Mark. But it's not an uncommon one: 42 states, among them New York, now let grandparents go to court to assert visitation rights where divorce or a parent's death has cut them off. In some states, there's a trend to extend such rights also to other relatives, like aunts and uncles.

A year ago, when a House subcommittee dis-

cussed "Grandparents — the Other Victims of Divorce and Marital Dissolution," one grandfather testified that a grandchild's companionship "is what your life is all about; this is what you work for." George Layton said something similar: "I worked my whole life to get where I am, and I didn't have very much time with my children. We got time on our hands now." If parenthood is a responsibility, grandparenthood, it seems, is one reward. But do grandparents have a "right" to such reward?

The better question is whether children have a right to the love that relatives other than their parents want to give them — provided, of course, that the relatives don't disrupt the parent-child relationship. That's the question the Court of Appeals answered affirmatively when it granted the Laytons three hours a month with Mark.

Are they, thus, the victors? For society, the real party at interest, and winner, is Mark.

Topics

Disrupted Services

Recess Mischievous

Once again the Reagan Administration has budgeted zero dollars for the Legal Services Corporation, the best program yet devised for providing lawyers to the poor. Once again Congress is sure to keep the corporation alive. Even the puppet directors, installed by Reagan recess appointments to circumvent the Senate confirmation process, have recommended \$325 million for 1985 to overcome the damage done by recent budget-slashing.

While Congress will ignore the White House's cruel budget gesture, it should not be ignoring those recess appointments. President Reagan has never met his legal obligation to

nominate and install a Senate-confirmed board of directors. He has just made his 18th and 19th "recess" appointments.

The Constitution allows recess appointments for emergencies if Congress is absent. The latest emergency, apparently, was the imminent return of Congress. If Congress can't force the White House to obey the law, it should redesign legal services and refuse to pay unapproved directors.

Busing Controversy

What's not to like about a pink bus with whiskers, buck teeth and yard-long aluminum rabbit ears? Beats us, yet some residents of Dallas aren't

fond of the city's eight downtown Hop-A-Buses. "Personally," says the chairman of the city's transportation board, "I think they're stinking."

If a bunny bus stinks, how to describe the Grumman Flexible, which tends to collapse at the very sight of a New York City street? When first put into service three years ago, a Flexible promptly dropped its engine in Flushing. The buses have been in and out of the repair shops ever since.

Last month some Flexibles were taken out of service after defects were found in the steering columns. This week all 871 had to be inspected for cracks in the front axles and rear wheels. Next month . . . who knows? In the meantime, why not try putting ears on them?

Letters

Time for Democratic Candidates to Think Urban

To the Editor:

As the echoes of the New Hampshire debate drift across the countryside, we Democrats can reflect with some familial pride on the ability of our contenders to enliven the political show. But stirring as it was, there was a missing theme: the cities of New Hampshire. The cities of America.

We, the Democratic mayors of these cities, had been listening for an indication that our candidates were aware that urban America is a separate constituency. The absence of that indication disturbs us, because it suggests that our candidates at this point may be walking into the Ronald Reagan trap.

The trap, as set by the current Administration, is in the enfolding of the

cities in something called The Overall Problem. It is much like the trickle-down theory: when The Overall Problem is solved, the solution will filter through to the cities. And it is just as specious.

The Ronald Reagan federalism assigned cities to a general reservoir called local government. That included cities, states and any other municipal entity. Attention to local government was, implicitly, attention to the cities.

Then the Reagan Administration proposed shoveling the problem of local government onto the governors. It did not, however, offer much assistance with solutions. Through the haze of solicitous rhetoric it became clear that the governors were expected to do their own improvising. The Fed-

eral Government wanted to get out of the local government business.

But the problem of urban America does not allow itself to be dummed into the "miscellaneous" bin. It cannot go away simply because it has been assigned to a distant-problem pool.

Which was why the Democratic mayors were listening, during the New Hampshire exchange, for attention to the need for a specific national urban policy.

Although we did not hear the message crystallized in New Hampshire, we have heard it during our recent series of hearings in Detroit, Pittsburgh, New Orleans and Charleston, which brought together voices from across the urban spectrum, including academics, labor leaders, industrialists, legislators and others.

Our purpose was to shape a statement on national urban policy for presentation to the Democratic National Committee platform committee and various other audiences throughout the nation. Panels of mayors heard and questioned speakers on industrial policy, employment, economic development, infrastructure, public transportation, housing and community development and education.

Our regional coordinators were experienced urban leaders: Mayors Coleman Young of Detroit, Richard Caliguri of Pittsburgh, Ernest Morial of New Orleans, Joseph Riley of Charleston and Daniel Whitehurst of Fresno.

The distillation of that material will be the text of our national policy statement. We will be inviting the Presidential candidates to respond at a special March forum in New York City co-sponsored by Hunter College.

We know the Democratic Party is the party historically tuned to the special needs of cities. Our plan is to provide the candidates with an urban setting, urban mayoral sponsorship and an urban audience, and in the process elevate the level of urban awareness as the election-year dialogue develops.

LEE ALEXANDER

Syracuse, Jan. 20, 1984
The writer, Mayor of Syracuse, is president of the National Conference of Democratic Mayors.

Capitalist-Socialist Bridge Built in Sweden

To the Editor:

Flora Lewis extols the virtues of Swedish society ("Sweden's Quiet Way," column Jan. 24) but passes over one characteristic that helped shape everyday life in Sweden.

Since the turn of the century, Swedes have had the admirable ability to form cooperatives and provide their citizens with everything from groceries to housing in a manner that guaranteed democratic control and fair prices. Another American journalist, Marquis Childs, wrote in 1936 that cooperatives were Sweden's "middle way" because they united two competing ideologies: economic self-interest (capitalism) with striving for the collective good (socialism).

Today, Swedes own their own petroleum co-ops, co-op banks, co-op retail stores, even a co-op newspaper. Co-ops may not be the dominant economic force in Sweden (they control 20 percent of the nation's retail trade), but they are the most vocal. For example, Swedish co-op leaders were too practical to put their trust in antitrust legislation. When confronted by monopoly overcharges in such basic items as flour, vegetable oil or light bulbs, the Swedes built their own production

plants, dropped the price of the products and enlarged their co-op sector.

I'll leave it to a bona fide Swede to test this premise: Sweden's quiet



way is the result of its cooperative ways — policies that other nations would do well to emulate.

HARRISON DRINKWATER

Education Director, Hanover Consumer Cooperative Society
Hanover, N.H., Jan. 25, 1984

Gromyko's Gesture To a Soviet Reality

To the Editor:

In a Jan. 24 dispatch from Moscow, you advance many plausible explanations for Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko's virulent denunciation of the Reagan Administration's policies at the Stockholm conference — a performance that is still puzzling political observers — but his possibly most important motive wasn't mentioned at all.

Mr. Gromyko is the most durable political survivor in the Soviet hierarchy, for good reason: he has shown an extraordinary talent for positioning himself correctly at the early stages of each power struggle in the Kremlin. This time is no different.

The end of Yuri V. Andropov's reign is in sight. Whoever will succeed him can do so only with the support and suffrage of the military. Mr. Gromyko, hoping to protect his position as Foreign Minister, is adopting a hard-line posture toward the U.S., very much appreciated by a Soviet military establishment that has been stung and feels threatened by U.S. deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

Mr. Gromyko may have acted as he did for an array of complicated political reasons. The most compelling motive, however, could well have been his desire to line up with those forces in the Kremlin who will best assure his political survival in the coming power struggle.

FRANK SHATZ

Lake Placid, N.Y., Jan. 25, 1984

Beneficiaries of Vatican Wartime Rescue

To the Editor:

I don't know if and to what extent the Vatican may have been helping Nazis after the end of World War II. But I do know the following facts:

My father, mother, sister and I were part of a group of 14 Jews from Yugoslavia who had been interned as *internati civili di guerra*, something roughly corresponding to "civilians, prisoners of war." Such groups, some smaller, some larger, were scattered all over northern Italy. By bringing us over from their occupied territories in Yugoslavia, Italians had saved our lives. But that's another story.

While we were there, we were confined to the village's limits and were receiving a monthly pittance for subsistence. Those of us who were healthy and strong enough worked in the fields, cut timber and did other chores and so helped ourselves. But there were many in all of these groups who were old or sickly or too depressed. It was the Vatican that helped. Unobtrusively, through a name and address in Rome's Italian Jewish community.

When the Fascist leader in the village started harassing us and objecting because the villagers were friendly to us, the village priest declared from the pulpit that we were human beings and, without mentioning any names, he criticized the Fascist leader. It took concern and courage to do that.

In the days of the German occupa-

tion of Rome, the situation was desperate. The Nazis were losing and they were killing Italians and Jews, but they were especially hunting for Jews. My uncle, his wife and their small boy were in Rome. Jewish and without identification papers, they were desperately looking for refuge.

They came, to know, by word of mouth, of a church and monastery in Rome where you knocked and asked for help. They did and were given refuge. Later they were supplied with life-saving identification papers.

I hope that this may bring some balance into the present dispute.

PAUL PARDO

New York, Jan. 31, 1984

Handy Ignorance

To the Editor:

The Times reported on Jan. 25 that the Florida State Attorney for Palm Beach County, David H. Budworth, has decided not to initiate any action against Charles Z. Wick, U.S.I.A. chief, for having secretly and illegally recorded telephone conversations while in Palm Beach last March. "Wick was totally unaware of the statute" prohibiting such action, said Mr. Budworth, and "that has to be given some consideration." Is it no longer a premise of American law that "ignorance of the law excuses no man?"

E. WARREN SMITH

Brooklyn, Jan. 29, 1984

Private Sector Survey's Focus on Cost-Effective Government

To the Editor:

Your Jan. 20 Washington Talk page article "The Deficit: Deplored by All, Resolved by None" said in the course of its discussion that the recommendations of the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control "entailed cuts in welfare payments, Social Security, food stamps and other benefits, as well as a huge 'hit list' of popular public works projects."

That statement is both inaccurate and misleading since it implies that our primary focus was on benefit programs for the needy. It was not.

Savings specific to Social Security and nutrition programs — which would be achieved primarily through efficiencies in the delivery of benefits — amount to \$13 billion, or just 3 percent of the survey's proposed savings.

Take Social Security. Implementation of our recommendations, which would save \$8 billion over three years, would cut not one nickel in benefits. The savings derive from reducing erroneous payments, restructuring the appeals process, closing underutilized field offices and simplifying the unwieldy Social Security operations manual.

In regard to nutrition programs, the essence of our recommendations is that the Government could save \$5 billion over three years by eliminating overlap and duplication and by updating benefit formulas that are no longer representative of recipient families.

The "huge 'hit list' of popular public works projects" presumably refers to our report on Congressional encroachment. That report projected three-year savings of \$8.8 billion by identifying legislative actions which have impeded managerial effectiveness.

First, the \$8.8 billion represents just 2 percent of total savings. Second, while public works projects are among numerous examples of Congressional encroachment, no savings are claimed as a result of changes in any public works project.

The article made no mention of the \$309 billion in potential three-year savings — 73 percent of our total recommendations — which would result from improvements in the Government's management of personnel, information, facilities, cash, assets, procurement — all those functions which

the Government has in common with the private sector and which can be managed more cost-effectively by applying private-sector operating procedures and controls. That's where the focus of our recommendations is.

Yet the implication was that our recommendations are not politically palatable because they entail cuts in welfare and other benefits and "popular public works projects."

Such an incomplete and unfair description of our recommendations does a tremendous disservice to the work of our commission and perhaps lessens the possibility that the recommendations, so important to the economic well-being of our country, will be implemented.

The American public must not be misled into believing that what we have done is recommend cuts in benefits for the poor and the needy.

J. PETER GRACE
Chairman, President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control
Washington, Jan. 30, 1984

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ABROAD AT HOME

Enough
Is
Enough

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — The South African Government has a beautiful advertisement in a number of American publications recently. "South Africa," it said, "is involved in a remarkable process of providing fair opportunities for all its population groups."

The ad told about how the Government is making houses available to black families at low prices — "an integrated part of its drive towards home ownership for everyone." At the bottom, an attractive picture showed three black children playing outside a nice row house.

In the interest of completeness, South Africa might take another advertisement giving further details on those happy black children: on the realities they face as they grow up. Here are a few.

• They, and other blacks, 70 percent of the population, may not vote for members of Parliament or take any other part in the country's government.

• They are barred from living in "white areas" — 87 percent of South Africa — unless they are among the minority who qualify for permits under intricate laws.

• The police may stop them at any time and demand their passbooks showing where they may live. If they have the wrong stamp in the book, they will be fined or imprisoned after a trial lasting a few minutes — and then shipped to a desolate "homeland" where there are no jobs.

• They may be farmers in a black community that has owned the land for generations. But if that area is declared "white," they may suddenly be moved to a remote resettlement area where the only structures are rows of metal privies.

• If they join any serious movement to demand political rights for the majority of South Africans, they are likely to find themselves arrested, detained in solitary confinement without trial, tortured.

• Far from being "integrated" in the American sense of that word, their lives will be totally segregated. They will be confined to separate and grossly unequal schools, housing, trains, hospitals.

Advertisements notwithstanding, Americans are increasingly aware of the realities of life in South Africa. More and more want to do something about the practice of massive institutionalized racism by a country that calls itself part of the "free world."

Those American feelings are taking concrete form in a spreading legislative phenomenon. Three states — Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Michigan — have passed laws forbidding the investment of public funds in companies that operate in South Africa. More than 20 cities, the largest Philadelphia, have similar laws. Many universities are under student pressure to take such action in regard to their funds.

Congress has taken a step of a more direct kind. Last fall, in passing legislation to increase the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund, it provided that the U.S. delegate must "actively oppose" any I.M.F. loan to South Africa unless the Secretary of the Treasury certifies in writing that a loan would benefit "the majority of the people," and meet other nonracial tests.

Then the House added significant amendments to the Export-Administration Act. They would prohibit U.S. commercial bank loans to the South African Government except for non-discriminatory housing, schools or hospitals; prohibit any further American private investment there; forbid the importation of Krugers, and make all U.S. companies in South Africa comply with the so-called Sullivan Code against discrimination. (Half the U.S. firms there now ignore the voluntary code.)

The Senate is to take up the export legislation shortly, and is expected to pass it without considering South African issues. There will then be a fight in conference, with House members trying to keep some of the South African restrictions in the final version. If they succeed, it will be hard for President Reagan to veto a bill that includes essential trade provisions.

Legislative steps of that kind are not going to lead to a change of heart by the South African Government; of course not. But they do keep Americans from participating in evil. And if there is anything that recent history teaches, it is the evil, the corrupting, dangerous evil, of racism.

The United States must continue diplomatic efforts in relation to South Africa's external policy: the effort to bring Namibia to independence, for example. But it is also necessary for Americans to make clear our opinion of internal South African policy. Those who rule the country will hear the message, and they do care what Americans think of them.

The ranking members of the House African subcommittee — Howard Wolpe, a liberal Democrat, and Gerald Solomon, a conservative Republican — were right when they wrote South Africa's Prime Minister that "there can never be a normal relationship between our two countries as long as the inhuman and destabilizing doctrine of racial separation continues. It is time for Congress and other American institutions to tell South Africa: Enough is enough."

James Reston is on vacation.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — It is well accepted in politics and public life that, with a certain kind of friend, one is not greatly in need of enemies. Everyone who observes the relationship between the Administration of President Reagan and the military establishment, in particular the armed services, should surely agree. The Administration, and notably its spokesmen, are strongly in support of the services, the Pentagon and the military budget in particular. This is taken for granted by all. At a deeper level, I would urge that no administration since 1815, not even those of the Vietnam years, has been more comprehensively damaging to the military's reputation. It is surprising that this has not been more discussed.

There is, first, the matter of the budget. In the years following World War II, with the Great Depression still strong in the national memory, military expenditure was seen as a benign, even useful stimulus to private spending, investment and employment and thus to economic performance in general.

These outlays emerged as a somewhat unsettling factor in the Vietnam

John Kenneth Galbraith, professor of economics emeritus at Harvard University, is author, most recently, of "The Anatomy of Power."

War — a cause of inflation and of the need for a tax increase. Now under the Reagan Administration, there has been a further major step. Military spending has become the principal and the most highly visible cause of the present and prospective budget deficit. And, a more compelling matter, this spending has been presented by the Administration as a basic reason for curtailed or reduced spending on behalf of the poor. The second had to make way for the first. So it will still be in the fiscal 1985 budget, which has gone to Congress.

Those concerned with the public reputation of the armed services must surely wonder if it is enhanced by placing it in direct, even cruel opposition to the needs of families with dependent children, of the aged and impecunious poor, of the minorities in central cities, of food-stamp recipients, of the others who have been affected or threatened by the Reagan budget cuts.

Next has been the effect of more bad wars on military prestige and reputation. The armed services came out of World War II with their prestige at the highest possible level. From Vietnam, as few will doubt, they emerged with a deeply diminished position. The difference was that World War II was perceived as a necessary war; the military was supported by an all but unanimous sense of national purpose. In Vietnam, our commitment was to a distant and dif-

Reagan vs. the Military

By John Kenneth Galbraith

ferent culture; we supported a corrupt and unpopular Government and an army of accomplished malingers. Our crusade was against Communism in a village community where the difference between capitalism and Communism has little relevance. In consequence, there was no strong sense of national purpose. And those who most visibly questioned the purpose took it out on the services. When the protesters came to Washington, they went to the Pentagon. And on the campuses, to the R.O.T.C. Or they burned draft cards, the immediate symbol of military commitment.

Now in Nicaragua and Honduras and in Lebanon the Reagan Administration is again engaged in operations superbly designed to repeat the error and deepen the damage to the reputation of the armed forces.

Dissidence and revolt in Central America are rooted in appalling inequities in the distribution of land, wealth, ethnic privilege and political power and a resulting sense of injustice that has far more to justify it than that which produced our own revolt 200 years ago. Soviet and Cuban sponsorship are of course compulsively cited; one never hears of this in countries where there is a sense of equitable participation in economic life and fair and decent government. (It is evident, indeed, that the principal purpose of reference to the Soviet Union is to silence those who live in grave fear of ever seeming sympathetic to Communism.)

The military forces we support and guide in El Salvador have, it is abundantly clear, a taste for battle that is even more edgious than was that of the South Vietnamese. Unable or unwilling to recognize real causes, the

Administration falls back on our own forces — the wrong cure for the wrong problem. This, and the associated lack of public support, have been more than adequately recognized by military leaders and especially by Gen. Edward C. Meyer, the recently retired Army Chief of Staff. Noting that the problems of the area are rooted in deep-seated economic and social causes to which a military remedy is irrelevant, he added, "Soldiers should not go off to war without having the nation behind them."

The problem is not different in Lebanon where, in default of other available action, a handful of Marines are expected to subdue religious and communal conflicts that began when the First Crusade, called by Urban II, reached Antioch in October 1097, and that have continued with the aid of increasingly lethal instruments of destruction ever since. No one will now doubt that the reputation of the Marine Corps and its commanders has suffered there from a military commitment to a wrong war.

Next there has been the impairment, even collapse of civilian control in and over the Pentagon. In his best-known public statement, President Dwight D. Eisenhower broadened the concept of military power from the armed services to include the supplying corporations — the military-industrial complex. It is this that requires effective civilian control.

The Reagan Administration has abandoned any effort at such control by according major authority in the Defense Department and over the armed services to executives from the weapons firms or recruits from their Washington representatives or lobbyists, now politely called consultants. This is not civilian control but rather incestuous administration of the military-industrial complex by the military-industrial complex. And it is the services again that suffer; no one can accord them their much-valued reputation for disinterested patriotism and public service if they are seen as the agency of and the conduit for revenues to the great weapons firms — firms that from this largesse have recently been reporting record gains in profits and an unprecedented concern as to what to do

Armed forces' reputation hurt

with their large accumulations of cash.

Finally — and most important of all for the attitudes toward the services and the Administration policy and rhetoric concerning them — there is the nature and effect of modern weaponry. Anciently, the soldier with his weapons has been seen as a source of the citizen's security — of protection against invasion, rapine and pillage from beyond the borders. No longer. All reference to modern weaponry has a connotation of destruction not only for the enemy but for the citizen and, increasingly, for all life on the planet. Modern weaponry has made the military seem not a protector of life but the custodian of horror and death. And increasingly it is seen as horror without even a military purpose. Speaking a few weeks ago in Los Angeles, former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara concluded by saying that we face an unacceptable risk of nuclear war until we recognize that "nuclear weapons serve no military purpose whatsoever."

None of this truly awesome development seems to have affected the thought and expression of the Administration. Instead, there has been the unrelenting commitment to new weapons and weapons systems and to the deployment of those now becoming available. All of this has had a well-advertised priority over the pursuit of effective arms control. This has stimulated an unprecedented wave of concern over the effects of nuclear weapons and war — the weapons and war with which the military is so intimately associated.

To the policy has been added the rhetoric. From high civilian officials in these last years we have had a flow of statements on the possibility and acceptability of limited nuclear war, on the possibility of protracted nuclear war and on prevailing in a nuclear war, and the emergence of civilian defense proposals and plans that bear closely and vividly on the insane.

It would be hard to imagine anything better calculated to associate the military establishment with the nuclear horror. It is hardly surprising that a very considerable number of high officers — Admirals Gene R. La Rocque, John Marshall Lee, Noel Gayler and not least Hyman G. Rickover — have emerged from their years of service to express themselves strongly on the need for effective arms control. Nothing, they clearly feel, is more important for the reputation of the profession in which they have made their careers.

The lines of remedial action are obvious; a military budget that respects civilian needs; a total curb on unneeded or irrelevant military operations abroad; control of the Pentagon by civilians who actually control, who are wholly divorced from corporate interest; strong affirmation of the principle of no first use; acceptance of the bilateral freeze as a first step toward arms control; arms control viewed as something to be achieved and not as a political gesture. Only then will the military services again be seen as the instruments of a nation's protection, not of its — and the world's — destruction. It is to such ends that in the years ahead and especially in the election campaigning of the coming months all who wish to present themselves as friends of the military establishment should commit themselves.

Kremlin, Insecure,
Might Increase Risks

By Seweryn Bialer

power. They believe that he would deny them the respect and influence due them as a consequence of what they see as the most important accomplishment in their postrevolutionary history — the achievement of military parity with the West. A rekindled sense of insecurity fires an angry and defiant response — a desire to lash out and restore the respect of others. Such an attitude must surely make us reconsider our confident expectation that Soviet pragmatists will continue to be content with policies of "low risk" and "low cost."

During the fall of 1983, an invisible line was crossed in the attitudes of Soviet leaders toward President Reagan's present and future policies: They concluded that any attempt to improve relations would be futile.

Their dilemma — to conceive a policy capable of meeting a protracted Reagan challenge — is rendered more complex and difficult by their knowledge of their own economic and political weaknesses and even more so by their knowledge that both their friends and their adversaries fully appreciate how vulnerable they are. But Mr. Reagan's challenge and the recognition of their own vulnerability do not combine to reinforce caution in Soviet international conduct. On the contrary, this combination could lead Soviet policy makers to take higher risks.

Soviet leaders have been deeply frustrated by the unexpected difficulties they have encountered in translating their military might into international political and economic gains. They do not look for sympathy in the world, but they expect to command respect from adversaries and uncommitted nations. What they can tolerate least of all is not to be taken seriously and not to be feared.

In the present situation, Soviet foreign policy is as uncertain as Soviet leadership. Until the American Presidential election, Soviet leaders will continue in familiar directions, trying

to mobilize the party and the population against American "war-mongers"; to hold their gains abroad; to prevent at any cost a change in the military balance; to stonewall arms control negotiations with offers that seek to build good will in Europe while denying a realistic basis for negotiations to the United States; to split the Western alliance further on the issue of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Even more important for the West, however, Soviet leaders will continue to pursue another and very dangerous direction in their foreign policy: to await, or create, occasions for reasserting themselves and confirming to the world that they are not being pushed around by the United States. One such occasion was their withdrawal from negotiations about intermediate-range missiles, to which, I believe, they will not return. A second is the expected deployment of Soviet missiles in East Germany and stepped-up placement of missile-carrying submarines off American shores. Yet these gestures of Soviet determination, in my view, will not suffice to satisfy the aims of the Soviet leaders.

The risk that they will take a dangerous gamble is heightened by pressures for national self-assertion. Some kind of public opinion does exist in the Soviet Union and affects policy, although very differently than in the West. The views that count circulate in the largest cities, through the party and Government apparatus, and, most important, among the various elites. The unrelenting attack on the United States in the press and television has created an atmosphere in which the elites, the apparatchiks and at least some people in Moscow and Leningrad expect their leaders to act forcefully. In this, the Soviet leadership is a captive of its own rhetoric and may well be caught in a cycle of self-fulfilling prophecy.

Some American leaders, even a

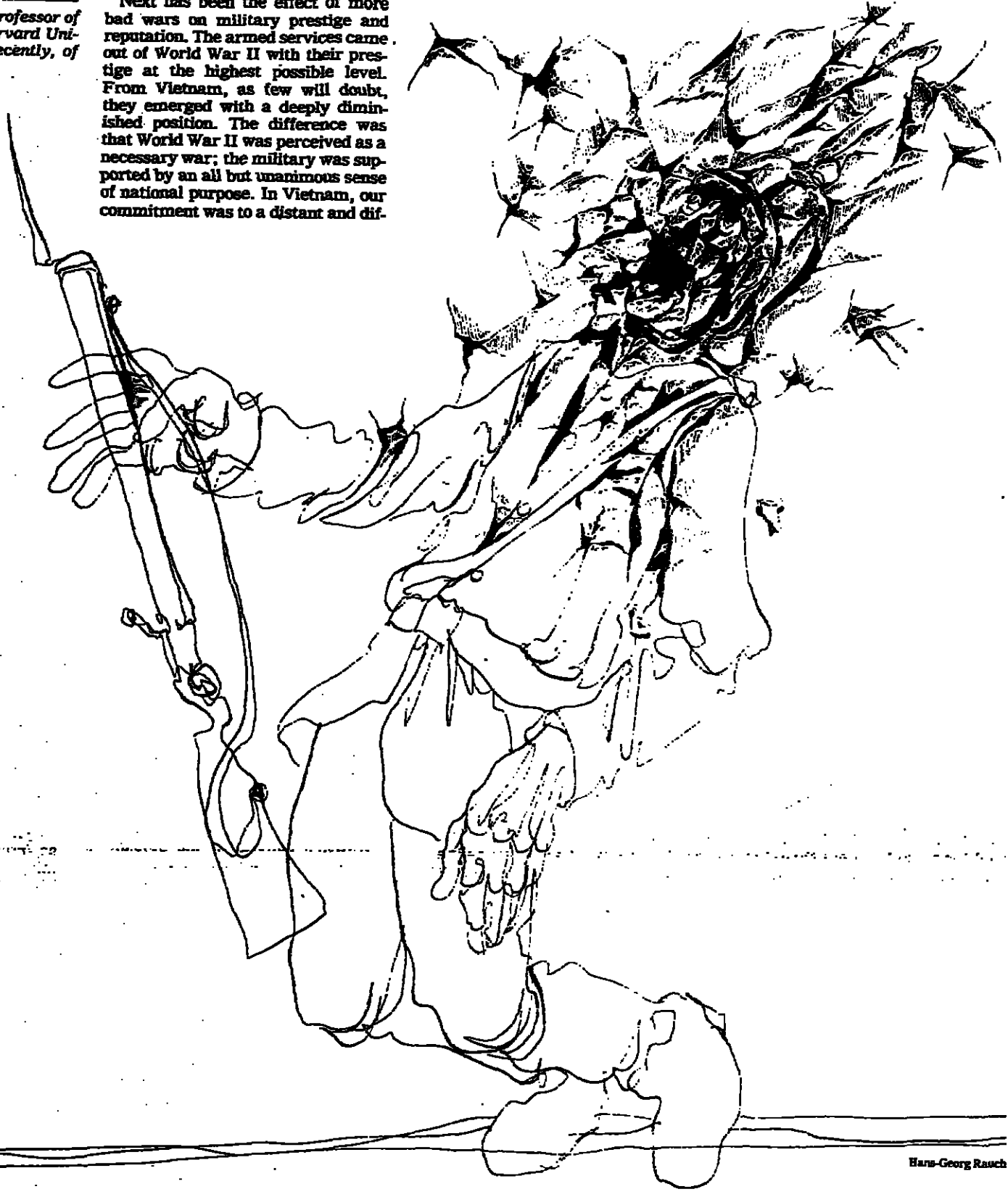
number outside the Reagan Administration, consider the present situation between the superpowers as "normal." In my view, they are very wrong. In a world bristling with nuclear arms, it cannot be normal to identify American security with a crude anti-Communist crusade and to impose simplistic ideology on practical policy toward the Soviet Union. "Extremism in the defense of liberty" is a vice: It will not advance liberty where liberty has never existed, and it increasingly endangers the most basic liberty, the right to live.

If steps are not taken on both sides to redefine what is "normal" in American-Soviet relations, dangers will multiply. One long-range danger is the real possibility that both arms control and the stability of superpower nuclear forces will be sacrificed to the search on both sides for an impossible condition of total security, not to speak of illusory military superiority. The two superpowers are already engaged in a new phase of strategic arms buildup that may outstrip their ability to conclude verifiable arms agreements. In any case, such agreements generally follow rather than precede an improved political relationship.

Only incurable fanatics would deny that the two superpowers in the nuclear age must "manage" their conflict. Yet the simple truth is that they are not managing it.

In part because of Mr. Reagan's military politics, but decisively because of Soviet domestic problems, what the Russians call "the international correlation of forces" has shifted in favor of the United States. In short, the Russians are in a hole. It would be tempting to relax with satisfaction at their plight if doing so were not so dangerous in the nuclear age. Any knowledgeable observer of the Soviet Union would probably agree that the Russians will not consent to remaining in a hole for long.

Their struggle to re-emerge will only increase the risks and dangers of an already inflammatory international situation. We must use our advantages to promote the cause of peace without having any illusions about the toughness of our adversaries. To advance a closed-minded ideological position with inflated, or even suddenly tempered, rhetoric is to abandon our obligation to maneuver the conflict away from the abyss.



Fellini's Magical Mystery Tour

By VINCENT CANBY

In the early 1960's, sometime after he had finished "8½," and when he was about to start production of "Juliet of the Spirits," Federico Fellini was quoted as saying:

"Up until now, I've always done stories where the requirements of the plot, or the setting, or the fact that the action is meant to be taking place in the present day, have prevented me from transfiguring everything in the way I'd like — the furnishing of a room, the face of an actor, the general atmosphere of a scene. That's why, from time to time, I dream of making a film with historical costumes and in color to tell a fable relating solely to the imagination, which would not have any clearly defined intellectual, ethical structure: reality within the imagination."

Since making that statement, this Italian cinema master has pursued "reality within the imagination" with a vengeance, keeping more and more inside the walls of the motion picture studio where, on great sound stages, he can rule a world whose natural laws are invented by him. There is no gravity. Planets move in arbitrary orbits. Everything is possible through the film technicians' magic. The patently fake is accepted as only natural.

It is therefore an intentional joke in "And the Ship Sails On." Mr. Fellini's newest film and one of his most visually splendid, when someone observes of the sun that it is setting into the waters of the Adriatic, "It looks so beautiful, it seems to be painted," which, quite apparently, it is. The audience can see the set painter's brush strokes.

This increasing exaltation of — and obsession with — obvious studio artifice is the most distinguishing aspect of the recent, extraordinary Fellini career, which can't easily be compared to that of any other major filmmaker.

The late, great Luis Buñuel, a true Surrealist, had no special interest in cinema trickery. Though he did on occasion shoot on actual locations, he, like Fellini, preferred to make his films in the comfort of a studio, not because he was interested in studio artifice but because the studio was more convenient.

Buñuel's Surrealism depended not on camera tricks, special effects or bizarre décor. It was based on the disorienting juxtaposition of easily identifiable but contradictory realities, such as the predicament of the black tie-and-evening gown guests in "The



A galley at sea is the setting for the hypnosis of a chicken in Federico Fellini's "And the Ship Sails On" — "stylized cinema at its most dazzling"

Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie." They sit down to enjoy an elegant dinner only to discover that they are actors, on a stage in front of an audience, appearing in a play whose lines they don't know.

Buñuel abhorred any techniques that suggested fanciness. He photographed his films with almost puritan plainness: a master shot to establish the scene, with subsequent cuts to close-ups and medium shots to report the actions and reactions of the characters.

Mr. Fellini's Surrealism — if, indeed, it can be called that — is something else entirely, a kind of byproduct of his love of visual spectacle and his impatience with the rules of conventional narrative films. The fantastic movies he has made since "Juliet of the Spirits" are really not all that different from the neorealism films — "I Vitelloni," "La Strada," "Nights of Cabiria" — that initially earned him his international reputation. It's just that the neorealism has become wildly, gaudily poetic, while the sensibility of the director remains that of a social critic and satirist.

In his "Satyricon" (1969), Mr. Fellini created what he described —

accurately, I think — as an ancient Roman world that is as remote and strange as some science-fiction world of the future. In one sequence, "Fellini Satyricon" (1969) features a Mediterranean galley that looks less like anything that could float upon water, much less be rowed, than a futuristic space station. "Fellini Roma" (1972), his tribute to the city he loves almost in spite of himself, masquerades as a documentary, though most of it was photographed in the studio.

In "Casanova" (1978) he shows us a mid-18th-century Europe — created entirely in the studio, of course — that suggests a civilization locked in terminal winter. Though he had "dressed" all of his preceding films with grotesque human figures, including dwarfs, hunchbacks, hermaphrodites, amputees, albinos, giants and harpies, he went one step further in "Casanova." He reordered the looks of his star to resemble those of some exhausted Martian. He transformed the facial features of Donald Sutherland, who played the title role, by giving him an unnaturally high forehead and an aristocratic nose obviously not his own.

With "Casanova" Mr. Fellini seemed at last to have realized that earlier expressed dream to transfigure absolutely everything, to tell a fable relating solely to the imagination, without any clearly defined intellectual, ethical structure.

However, it was impossible for Mr. Fellini completely to do away with intellectual and/or ethical structures. "Casanova" is as much concerned with the director's feelings of sex and guilt as "La Dolce Vita" and "Juliet of the Spirits." It's just a great deal more bleak.

"Fellini Satyricon," which pretends to be an unprejudiced look at a pre-Christian world without faith or order of any kind, emerges as an argument on behalf of the sort of order imposed by the Roman Catholicism he has so frequently satirized. As jazzy and free-wheeling as "Fellini Roma" looks to be, it is, at heart, a movie that expresses a middle-aged man's ruefully mixed feelings about what is called progress in the modern world. It's a nightmare vision of the glories that once were Rome's petering out in an apocalyptic traffic jam made possible when absolutely everybody has the economic means with

which to buy an automobile.

Mr. Fellini's love of odd spectacle, representing the private world of his own dreams and fantasies, did not suddenly appear from nowhere in "Juliet of the Spirits."

"La Dolce Vita" and "8½," his two last, great black-and-white films, are full of hints of things to come. Remember that wonderfully comic sight of the statue of Jesus as, suspended from a helicopter, it goes flying over the rooftops of Rome in "La Dolce Vita," or the climactic sequence of "8½," in which Guido (Marcello Mastroianni), the philandering, emotionally blocked film director, becomes reconciled with all of the characters that have figured in his life.

Fantasy and spectacle have always been an important factor in Fellini films. However, one thing has changed in these later films. That is, that spectacle has become an end in itself, being more interesting, and thus more important, than what the films are supposed to be about, possibly because it's increasingly difficult at times to know what, really, they are about.

Only in "Amarcord" (1973) has he attained the perfect synthesis of spectacular style with what I assume to be content. In this dreamy, funny recollection of an Italian childhood in the 1930's, the exquisite images — whether they are a peacock's magical appearance after a snowstorm or the sight of the liner Rex sailing across a cellophane sea — describe the process by which the past is transformed into enchanted myth.

When the spectacle overwhelms what appears to be the film's subject, the Fellini film tends to become too chilly for complete comfort. This is a problem with "Casanova" and it would have severely damaged "City of Women" (1980) had not the guilt-ridden, womanizing hero been played by Mr. Mastroianni, an actor whose intelligent, comic screen presence perfectly represents Mr. Fellini's view of himself.

"And the Ship Sails On" is not "Amarcord," but it contains some of the most wondrous sequences Mr. Fellini has ever done. Set in July 1914, just before the outbreak of World War I, it is a highly comic — and often musical — meditation upon art and

artists, mostly drawn from the world of grand opera.

The occasion is a memorial cruise aboard a magnificent luxury liner whose passengers have come together to honor the career of a recently deceased diva. The cruise director and host of the show — for the film is more a show than a narrative — is a newspaperman (Freddie Jones) who talks directly to the camera as he introduces the characters and comments on their foibles.

Unlike "Orchestra Rehearsal" (1978), which saw the rise and fall and rise of civilization in the course of a single orchestra rehearsal, "And the Ship Sails On" is not to be read as metaphor but to be enjoyed as a cinema circus. The film's vain tenors, imperious sopranos, kinky conductors and various hangers-on in the opera world are to be appreciated and wondered at in much the same way that we regarded the various types of clowns in Mr. Fellini's feature-length essay on the circus, "The Clowns" (1970).

In addition, however, "And the Ship Sails On" demonstrates Mr. Fellini's vision of stylized cinema at its most dazzling. There's not a truly representational set in the entire film. The dockside from which the liner Gloria departs on its ill-fated cruise, at the film's start, is initially introduced as it might be seen in an old silent film but, as the images pick up color and as real sound is heard on the soundtrack, the location comes to suggest something that might be seen at the Metropolitan Opera, if the Met could spend millions on a single set.

The interior of the liner, including a gigantic boiler room, is beyond a set decorator's dream of avarice. Among the "characters" there is one clearly man-made rhinoceros, who is homesick and on his way to an Amsterdam zoo, and a seagull that prefers to ride in the first-class dining room rather than to fly at sea on his own. Like all Fellini films, this one is full of feeling but never for a second sentimental.

I won't attempt here to interpret "And the Ship Sails On" — I'm not at all sure that I could anyway — but I can promise you that if you enjoy the cinema of imagination, meaning films that look and sound like those of no other living director, you cannot afford to pass up this rare, funny, surprising display.

De Kooning's Freedom Came Step by Exuberant Step

By JOHN RUSSELL

As to the retrospective exhibition of paintings, drawings and sculptures by Willem De Kooning that can be seen at the Whitney Museum through Feb. 16, a great deal has already been said. All over New York, the show has been both written up and talked up. For all I know, and as rather more things in it are for sale than is usual in a museum retrospective, it may also have been bought up all over town.

The purpose of this article is not primarily to review the exhibition but to discuss one or two of the questions that it raises. Some of these have to do with De Kooning himself. Others relate to the problem of what museums are to do about artists who rank as national treasures and are yet still in full activity.

Two things distinguish Willem De Kooning from most of the ambitious younger artists who are all set to step into his shoes. One is that as a very young man in Rotterdam, he was educated in depth and at length in every imaginable department of his trade. He learned how to draw from the naked model, how to know every one of our muscles by name, how to handle classical perspective and how to tell one color theory from another. He also learned

As a young man, he was in no hurry to sort himself out, still less to arrive.

how to make architectural renderings, how to simulate wood graining, and many another useful skill. He won medals, and he deserved them, for he could do just what he wanted in art, and just about what anyone else would ever ask him to do. He was the complete craftsman.

Rotterdam at that time was not a second-rate environment. With Piet Mondrian, Theo van Doesburg and their colleagues in the De Stijl movement in the heyday of their achievement, the Netherlands was not at all a backwater. When De Kooning took the boat to this country at the age of 23 in 1926 he was both an accomplished artist-craftsman and a man with a firsthand knowledge of avant-garde art, design and architecture in Europe. Lodged in a boardinghouse for Dutch seamen in Hoboken, he could look across the Hudson River and know for certain that with his perfected skills he would not starve in Manhattan.

But the second relevant thing about Willem De Kooning is that he did not have a one-man show in New York until he had been here for 22 years. He supported himself, meanwhile, by odd jobs of many kinds — house painting, window designs for a shoe store, carpentry, furniture design, murals for speakeasies, a mural design for the New York World's Fair of 1939, a set for the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo. He was known to many of the most discerning people around — Edwin Denby the dance critic, Rudy Burckhardt the photographer, Clement Greenberg the art critic and, among painters, Arshile Gorky, John Graham and many another. But he did not go out for fame and fortune, as a painter in his position might well do today.

Something in De Kooning's general attitude at that time may in fact remind us of what Edgar Degas said when someone said of a younger painter in Paris that he "had arrived." "In my day," said Degas, "we did not arrive." Admittedly the 1930's were not the easiest period in which to "arrive" as a painter in New York. (De Kooning's

close friend Arshile Gorky once said that if anyone managed to emerge from the 30's in New York "it could not be as a whole man." "There is no recovery," he went on, "from the blows and wounds of such a struggle to survive.") But even when that is taken into account there remains something wonderfully hesitant and uncertain about De Kooning's progress as a painter. He was in no hurry to sort himself out, still less to arrive.

After nearly half a century any one of us can recognize both the delicate human insights and the no less delicate sense of color that are the mark of the group of portraits that opens the Whitney show. Working with pinks and khakis and terra cottas, De Kooning did not attempt to fix his sitters once and for all, as bravura portraitists have done throughout history. They look as if they had just stopped by for a moment, and we believe in them, as we believe in De Kooning himself, as people whose development has not come to an end.

He was quite specific on this point, even as late as 1952. Two years before that he had painted the very large picture called "Excavation," which for many people is one of the great American paintings of all time, and at the age of 48 he might have been expected to have some firm ideas about exactly where he sat. But not at all: in a talk that he gave at the Artists Club in New York he said that "Some painters, including myself, do not care what chair they are sitting on. It does not have to be a comfortable one. They are too nervous to find out where they ought to sit. They do not want to 'sit in style'."

That is the position from which he took off — as painter, as craftsman and latterly as sculptor — in ways that are simply documented at the Whitney. Paintings and drawings alike take us, step by exuberant step, through the process by which De Kooning laid claim to an ever greater freedom of expression. From the poignant and Gorkyesque drawing of 1938 called "Self-Portrait With Imaginary Brother" to the huge slithering paintings that date from 1958, the leap in style, in ambition and in assurance is prodigious.

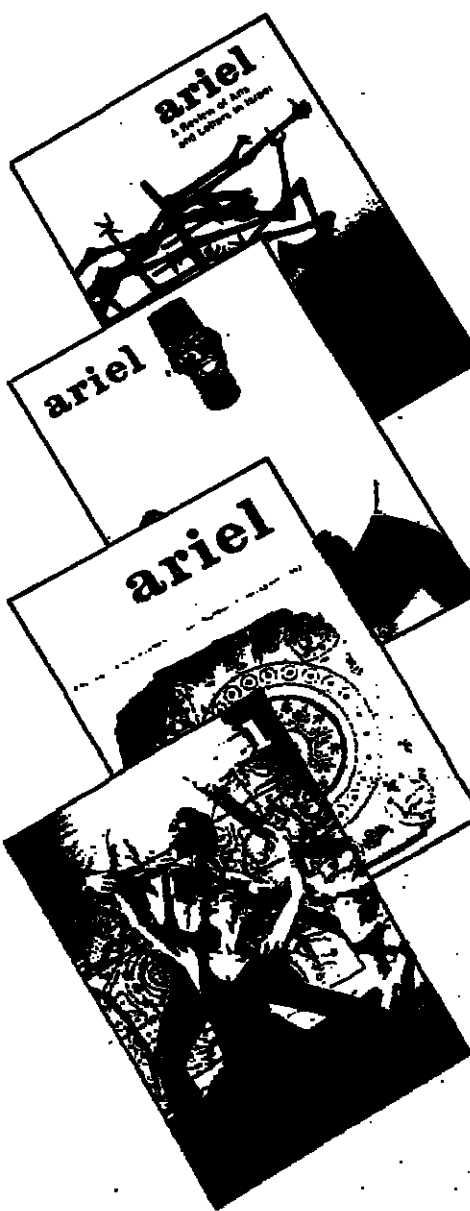
Along the way, De Kooning annoyed and disconcerted a lot of people, and he has never stopped doing it. But he has also — and to a degree not often paralleled in modern times — been fortunate in his interpreters. If the stature of a work of art can be judged by the beauty of the writing that it engenders, then De Kooning must be rated very high. When his almost too-celebrated paintings of women were first seen in the early 1950's, many visitors were thrown by what seemed to them their vindictive distortions. It took a major historian of Renaissance painting, Leo Steinberg, to write in Arts magazine that "De Kooning's 'Woman' is no more distorted than a lightning bolt is a distorted arrow or a rainstorm a distorted shower bath."

Thomas B. Hess, likewise, had precisely the way with words that brings De Kooning to life on the page. He could sum up his historical position in just a line or two. "De Kooning," he wrote in 1972, "has never been an Action Painter in the sense of an artist who makes gestures of the infinite — outside of history, outside of place, outside of culture. His athletic slashes of the brush or knife do not symbolize the artist, alone in the cosmos, confronting the world the way Satan confronted God. His brushstrokes symbolize his indecision, his liberty, but always as a hard-won emancipation. He takes the art of the past into account — Brueghel, Ingres, Cézanne, Delacroix, Uccello... And he is well aware of his own times, as well as of his friends Gorky, Pollock, Kline, Newman, Rothko and many others. And also of where he lives and how it looks — the everyday routine of going to a shopping center and buying some coffee."

And there is, indeed, in the headlong, voluptuous and sometimes enigmatic figuration of De Kooning an element of everyday detail that should never be forgotten.

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The Post's Roy Isacowitz meets journalist Eric Silver, who has written a new biography of the former prime minister

IT IS A MOMENT of crisis in Israel-U.S. relations, following the patchwork agreement at Camp David. Jimmy Carter is visiting Israel, determined to extract concessions. Menachem Begin waits to greet Carter; he stands at attention, fists clenched, silently humming "Ani Ma'amin," the hymn sung by countless Jews on their way to the gas chambers.

This incident, almost inconsequential but deeply illuminating, illustrates a new biography of Menachem Begin to be published in London this month by Weidenfeld. The author is Eric Silver, who was the *Guardian's* man in Jerusalem for 11 years before being transferred to New Delhi at the beginning of the year.

"I don't suppose that Begin will like the book," Silver said on the eve of his departure. "But I hope he will respect it. I hope that he will think it fair."

Silver's biography is neither official nor authorized; he stresses that he would not have undertaken an official assignment. Though he was assured of an interview with the

former prime minister, Silver says, it never materialized. Begin's aide Yehiel Kadishai later told him that Begin did not want Silver to write a book about him — "a back-handed compliment."

Nevertheless, Silver is quick to stress, Begin made no attempt to hinder him or to prevent others from talking with him. Among his most useful sources were Kadishai and Begin's sister Rahel Halperin.

SILVER SPENT two years researching and writing the book. With the invaluable help of two research assistants, he went through a wide range of archives, histories and primary source material. Halperin provided personal memories and insights on Begin's childhood — "she emphasized the influence their father had on him" — and former colleagues and adversaries in the pre-state underground filled in the pieces regarding Begin's leadership of the Irgun and Herut and his eventual rise to power.

The structure of the book is largely biographical. It combines tracing the evolution of Begin's personality

'Begin's only passion is politics...'



David Robinson

with tracing the evolution of Begin as a political animal. The essential question facing Silver was: What makes Begin tick? His answer: politics. "Begin's only passion is politics."

Silver's perception of Begin did not change appreciably over the course of his research. "The things I respected I still respect and the things I disliked I still dislike. What I respect is basic to the whole

Zionist concept: Begin's impulse to change the nature of the Jew; to produce a proud Jew."

But Begin stretched that to the point of perversity, Silver says. "Above all, what I disagree with is

his refusal to recognize that there is a conflict. There is something appalling about Begin's concern for people's lives, but what I find abhorrent is the very narrow focus of his compassion — that Jewish lives are paramount."

He gives as an example the communiqué released by the Irgun after the blowing up of the King David Hotel, in which only the loss of Jewish lives was regretted. That selective compassion is very much like Begin's failure to express regret after the Sabra and Shatilla massacres, Silver says.

IN APPROACHING his material, Silver attempted to answer questions which most people haven't asked: How is it that a pen pusher, a non-combatant in the Polish Army, was appointed leader of the Irgun? How could a leader who led his party to eight successive defeats survive to enjoy two victories? Silver believes he has succeeded in illuminating these and other questions. "I think I've come up with things which are fresh."

Among the "fresh" material is the

chapter on the Deir Yassin massacre, for which Silver drew on a range of interviews and testimonies. His, perhaps surprising, conclusion is that the casualty figure given by Begin in *The Revolt*, 120 killed, is close to the truth. He quotes a survivor as telling that representatives of each Deir Yassin family, meeting after the massacre, put the death toll at 116.

In other parts of the book, Silver tells how Ariel Sharon previewed his grand design for the invasion of Lebanon to senior American officials, including then secretary of state Alexander Haig, and how Begin, knowing that he would not be able to travel to Washington in August last year, inserted an escape clause in his letter of acceptance to President Ronald Reagan.

Silver and his wife are now on their way to India. Behind them they have left children, friends and 11 full, fascinating years. "We're sorry to leave Israel," Eric says, "but I'm happy they offered me another fascinating job. We want to fall in love with India as we did with Israel."

THERE IS nothing like a family quarrel to bring a gleam into our eyes. Last week, the *casse belli* was a remark dropped by Uri Reshef, a teacher at the Rehavia Gymnasium. There were, he said, two types of "culture": a higher (elite) type he termed "Ashkenazi" and a folk culture (obviously the inferior type) belonging to the Sephardim.

My guess is that this is political camel fodder that will be regurgitated time and time again. It seems that virtually everyone had something to say on the subject over the weekend. On the Second Programme, (Yemenite-born) Miriam Glaser-Ta'asa, deputy minister of education, implied that had Reshef used the word "dominant" instead of "higher," she might have found the statement more palatable.

As a member of the "dominant" sector, I wouldn't have. In spite of the yekkes among us, our poets, writers, composers and painters, not to mention designers and architects, have gone out of their way to adapt themselves to the background of this country, which is clearly Eastern. It would seem that Mr. Reshef has upset the national applecart.

The word he chose was certainly unfortunate; one might have expected more accuracy from a

'Elitist' remarks

LISTENING IN.../Ze'ev Schul

teacher. Spinoza, to mention only one, example, was an Ashkenazi. Some people even say that Columbus was of Jewish descent. And what about Italian, Dutch and French Jews, who are all "dominantly" Sephardim, but have more than contributed their share to Western Jewish culture?

On the other hand, the incident made us forget our other troubles, and we were grateful for even this small respite.

ANOTHER fight brewing seems to be the ban imposed by the former Sephardi chief rabbi, Ovadia Yosef, on games of chance organized by Mifal Hapayis. Is there any significance in the fact that there was no comment from an Ashkenazi rabbi?

I am reminded of the story of the hasid who took a trip back to the *shetl* in Galicia, where he committed the mortal sin of associating with a Gentile woman. On his return to Jerusalem, he hurried to his rebbe, eager to confess and atone. But the rebbe was also

holidaying somewhere in Poland, and the only rabbi available was the local *hacham*. So off the hasid went to confess his sin. "Give 10 piastres to charity," ruled the *hacham*, and that was that.

Three weeks later, the Ashkenazi rabbi returned, and since the conscience of our hasid was still troubling him, he went to seek absolution from his rebbe as well.

"This calls for heavy penance indeed," the rebbe said. "I order you to donate 100 pounds to the synagogue. "But rebbe," protested the hasid, "I've already seen the *hacham*, and all he told me to pay was 10 piastres!"

"And what," thundered the rebbe, "does a Sephardi know of *shittes*?"

TU B'SHVAT has come and gone, and we are still waiting for winter to begin in earnest. I was captivated by the feature on the Yarkon River (*Beloved Country*, Second Programme, Friday). It seems to me that the Yarkon and the sorry state of our country have much in common. A

great part of the situation is due to neglect and lack of foresight and could still be corrected, provided the necessary funds are provided in time. The upper reaches of the river (6 to 8 km) are still untainted, and even contain a unique type of fish.

Why, as the Mekorot people insist, can't a year-round flow of clean, potable water be made available and the refuse diverted higher up, obviating the need for saline water "flushings"? This water has given the *coup de grace* to what is left of riverside vegetation, including some fine eucalyptus trees.

I don't know how much it would be worth to our leadership in terms of hard cash to convert the entire 32 km of the river's meandering course into one big national park, but they might give it some thought.

TALKING OF patriotism and patriots, there was that naughty Eli Landau, the newly elected mayor of Herzliya, giving us his credo on the Second Programme last week. One may not agree with him ideologically or, indeed, in any other way, but perhaps we need politicians like him. He solved a problem, even if he acted out of line, and the citizens of Herzliya found themselves well-served. There were no garbage disposal difficulties in the town, and the municipality continued to function.

THE ISRAELI PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA: Giuseppe Sinopoli conducting, with Daniel Barenboim, violin (Tel Aviv, Mann Auditorium, January 29), Webern: Six Pieces for orchestra, Opus 6; Schumann: Symphony No. 4 in D minor, Opus 120; Berlioz: "Harold in Italy," symphony with viola obbligato.

THE TWO parts of this concert differed radically. About Schumann's "Fourth," one can only say that it is rare indeed to hear a performance which must be so completely and uncompromisingly rejected.

The fact is, Sinopoli misinterpreted badly. He not only disregarded the romantic spirit of the music, but actually ignored Schumann, employing neither dynamic shading nor *rubato* of any kind. Tempi seemed not only arbitrarily chosen, but remained rigid and unchanging during whole movements, while melody, harmony and rhythm emerged as if pulled down by an aggressive heaviness and the orchestra sounded thick and muddled.

Under these circumstances, the rough proceedings in the strings, particularly in the violins, in the first movement of the symphony, seemed of little importance. Nevertheless, just for the record: the intonation was sloppy; entries were badly synchronized and the patterns of sequences and imitations were disorganized.

THE SECOND part of the concert

Romantic rejection

MUSIC REVIEWS

was another story, although Benyamini's choice of *Harold in Italy* did little to refresh or revive the atmosphere. The soloist must, however, be credited with an elucidating performance, with Sinopoli providing tension and orchestral brilliance. Tempi seemed rather rushed (and dictated by Sinopoli) but, on the other hand, helped to overcome the many "dead" sections of this long and tiresome work.

One thing however remained clear: even in this performance and despite Benyamini's introspective playing, Sinopoli showed no feeling whatsoever for the lyrical or romantic. He seemed completely preoccupied with his own rather limited conception, manner and eccentricities. BENJAMIN BAR-AM

CHAMBER MUSIC: Yair Klei, violin; Zvi Harel, cello; Richard Lesser, clarinet; Marisa Bondarenko, piano (Halla, Beth Harofeh, January 28). Mendelssohn: Sonata for cello and piano, Opus 58; Schubert: Rondo Brilliant, for violin and piano Opus 70; Schumann: 3 Romances, for clarinet and piano, Opus 94; Vivaldi: "Quattro pezzi in fa di tempo."

THERE WERE varied levels of performance in the romantic first part of the evening. Richard Lesser played the Schumann poetic pieces accurately, with little personal involvement. In the Rondo "Brilliant," Yair Klei hardly met the required virtuosity. His tone also lacked sonority, which impeded the balance with the piano part.

The presentation of the Mendelssohn emerged best. Zvi Harel displayed a warm, beautiful tone, combined with sound technique and musical ability. His phrasing was well-rounded and his playing had expressiveness and drive.

Pianist Marina Bondarenko provided a very reliable piano part throughout the performing with style and flexibility.

Messiaen was inspired by an excerpt from "The Revelation of St. John." The rich musical language, using a variety of different elements as modes — intensity of notes, rhythmic patterns, melodies inspired by his study of bird songs — is colourful and descriptive. The musicians gave a convincing interpretation of Messiaen's portrayal of the revelation, after the apocalypse, working well as a team and expansive in the solo parts. It was a success with the audience.

ESTHER REUTER

ISN'T IT STRANGE that this rage for roots should come at a time of unprecedented mobility? When commuting has become a way of life, and holidays transcontinental? When people congregate at airports for flights to "search for their roots" and then jet home again?

It isn't really strange, but the question may be raised. Actually, about the only semi-human form with a structural feasibility for sending down roots is that of the mermaid. Her bifurcated, scaly tail could conceivably grow a descending axis, if she weren't so busy swishing around luring sailors to their doom. Not so ordinary men and women, who are bifurcated to the point of having legs. And anybody with legs cannot have roots. Once upon a time, yes. But not in an age when legs take you into cars and up airplane ramps.

There are, to be sure, four-legged creatures whose business it is to search for roots — though not their own, and not really roots. I refer to truffle-hounds and truffle-hogs, which are dogs and (it must be said) pigs trained to snort around and locate truffles, those subterranean fungi long considered a gourmet delicacy.

THE CURRENT interest in finding one's roots became fashionable, as has often been pointed out, with blacks in America. First it was a book, and then a TV serial based on the book. The point was to give the downtrodden blacks a picture of a noble heritage, back when they had heroes and strong family ties, their own culture and language, their

Root research

By HELGA DUDMAN/Jerusalem Post Reporter

own land in Africa.

This black version, rapidly transplanted to Israel, took root here at about the time when political changes effected a switch in viewpoint. The new viewpoint rejected the old Ben-Gurion idea that nothing of importance happened between biblical times and political Zionism, and encouraged the new immigrants from Oriental communities to take pride in their heritage. This, so the historical hindsight goes, had been stamped out by our Polish politicians and Russian pioneers, superior in the westernism of their Yiddishkeit and chopped livers. As for the other ethnicism, it seems to have been easier to resurrect belly dancing and barbecues than the scholarship of Sephardi Jewry's Golden Age.

I am all for studying history. But rooting around among a grab-bag of bygone life-styles as a means of bolstering the ego or escaping from the present seems to me ridiculous. And I was delighted to learn that I was not alone in this view.

Not long ago, a leading Hebrew poet said right out loud, on the radio, that his connection with his family's past goes back to his grandparents, and no further.

Exactly: grandparents, for those lucky enough to have known them,

are the human link to the past, though grandchildren today would rather watch TV than listen to old gramps ramble on. A very few families may have letters or legends going back a few more generations, but these in all likelihood cover only one ancestor in 32.

BOTANICALLY, the roots metaphor strikes me as an absolute mess. It is, to be sure, confirmed in the "family tree" notion, which some people are in a position to have drawn up, framed, and hung in the study. But a real tree does not have its ancestors down there among its roots. A real tree has grown its roots all by itself. Its ancestors were other trees, each with its very own roots, which produced seeds of one sort or another (vegetative reproduction by cuttings is not nature's rule).

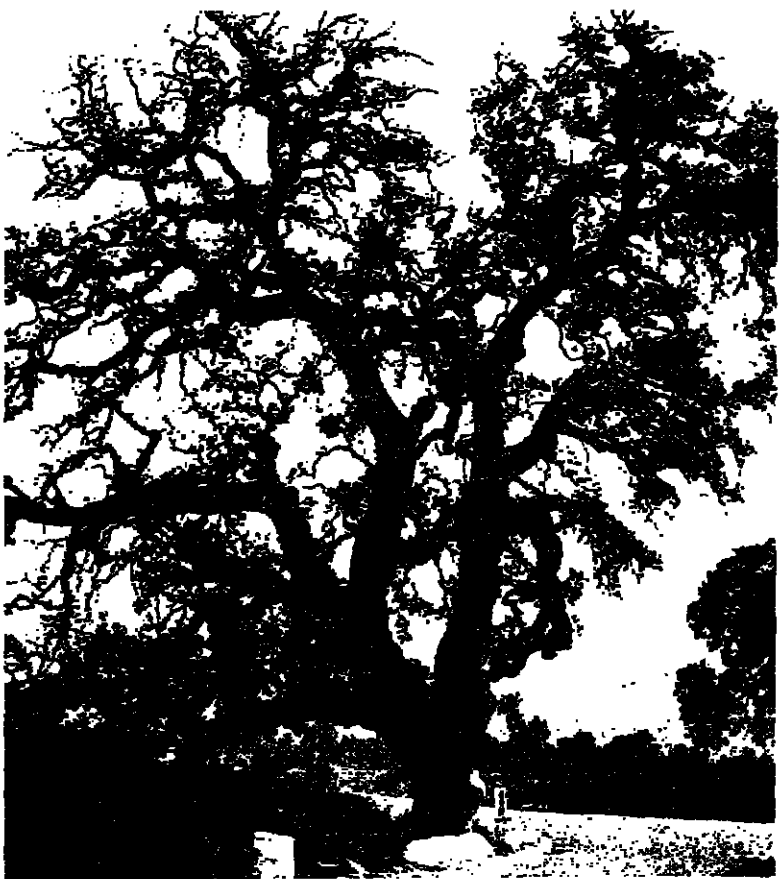
Or take the carnation. You can plant it from seed, in which case it will do its own root system, just like a tree; because it is a perennial, its great-grandparents may be alive and well in some other garden. Or you can take a cutting, in which case your new plant will not be a genetic combination of many forefathers but rather the genetical identical duplication of the

single-parent plant. You might even layer it.

But enough botany, except that we must mention the Wandering Jew, which sends out its little white roots in no time at all. The presumably opprobrious Diaspora name is retained here in the Hebrew *yehudi* noted. Its real name is *Tradescantia flumensis*, though I have also come across it as *Zebrina*. It appears in a variety of colours — purplish, green with white, green with yellow, all green, sometimes pink at the edges, but it's always a wandering Jew, and as our own Walter Frankl puts it, "propagation is very easy." It doesn't even need a jar of water to start: any bit of earth will do.

IF FAMILY trees grow from the bottom up, genealogical tables are constructed in the opposite direction: the first generation is at the top, and succeeding generations descend, indicating that our blessed forefathers are there above us, as we hope their spirits are, and not arranged in layers down in the humus. Animal pedigrees, if I'm not mistaken, go from left to right, with lots of inbreeding.

The big question is, which generation do you find most attractive for root treatment? With due respect to early Hassidism, why should 17th-century Poland be such



a popular root-milieu? Wouldn't pre-Ghetto Europe under Charlemagne have a certain charm?

Or England under William the Conqueror, up to the Expulsion? Or Tiberias in the third century, for in-

tellectual challenges?

Plenty of other periods might be suitable for inserting the toe into the taproot, but that involves a study of history, not always the strong point of those looking for their own radicles. (That's not a mis-spelling of the mathematical or political radical, but refers to the part of the plant embryo that develops into its primary root.)

Going just 10 generations back gives us 1,024 direct ancestors, a confusing mass from which to pick the most appealing cuisine, costume, and to give the security of continuum. If you think because you come from some small village known for incest, which might diminish the crowd, that's still an arbitrary point at which to enter the flow.

My own case is ludicrous, and if I cared about living in the past, an incestuous village would have made my quest easier, if biologically feeble. One of my grandfathers was a Sephardi, from Trieste; the other, a Roman Catholic from Galicia, in the Ukraine. (Pronounced Halicz in Polish, and the seat of the dukes of Przemyśl from c. 1134. This I know from looking it up, not from any collective unconscious.) No cause for halachic worry, though. Both grandmothers were Ashkenazi Jewish — one deeply religious, the other deeply non-religious.

TONIGHT

What do the present trends and developments hold for the future of Israel? For the first time in Jerusalem, **VIEWPOINT-FORUM** (in English).

1984 — Prospects for Israel

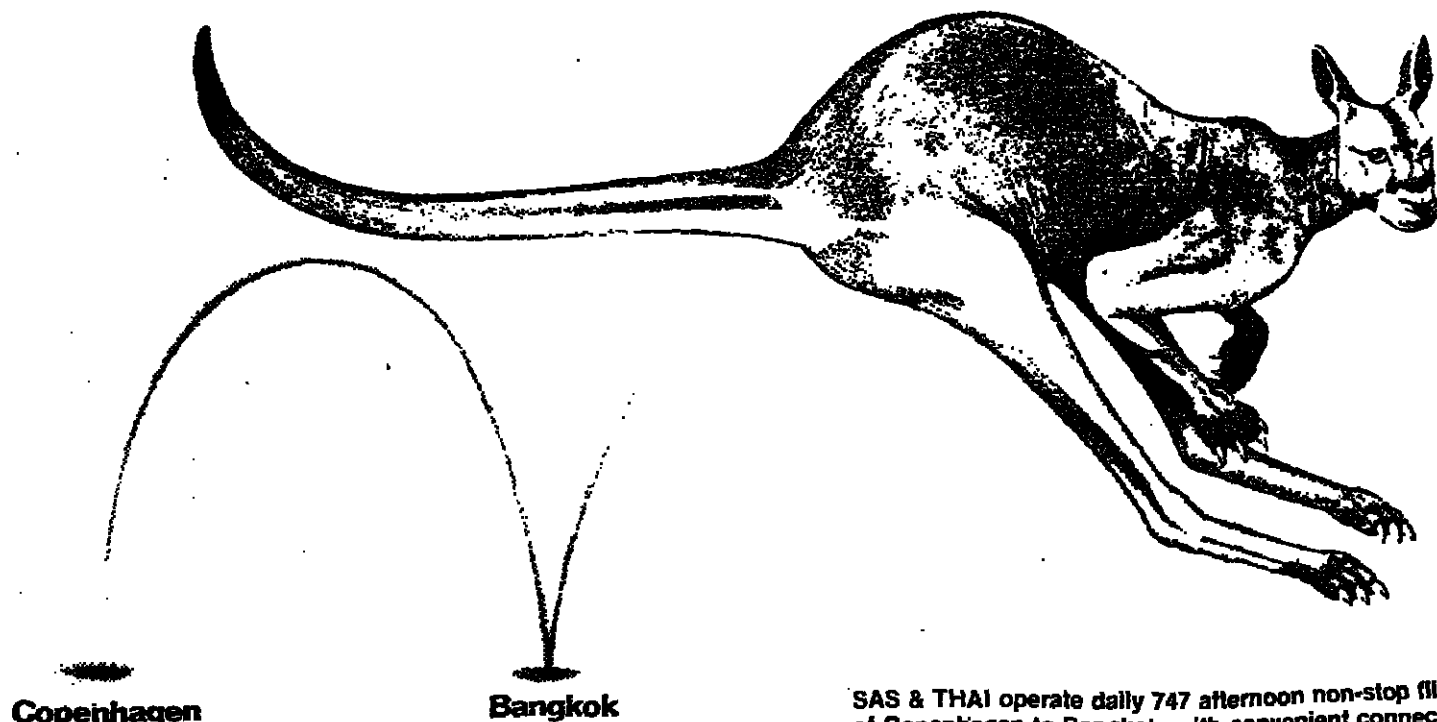
with Meir Shitrit MK (Likud), Tamar Eshel MK (Labour) and Ari Rath, Editor, The Jerusalem Post.

Tonight, Feb. 6, 1984 at 8 p.m., the Jerusalem Plaza Hotel, King George St., Jerusalem.

Tickets available at the Jerusalem Plaza Hotel. Admission includes coffee and cake: IS 500; for AACI members IS 350 (members, please pick up your tickets at AACI, Moadon HaOleh, 9 Alkalai).

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Bank shares lead market higher

TEL AVIV. — Demand for bank shares which are part of the Treasury agreement swelled yesterday to the equivalent of \$10 million and caused price advances that were as high as 9.9 per cent. As a result the General Share Index, including commercial banks, put in a smart advance of no less than 7.1 per cent. With the action of the banks excluded, however, the General Share Index reflected a gain of only 3.46 per cent.

In a performance similar to that of the first three sessions a week ago, all parts of the market were positively affected by the demand for the shares guaranteed by the Treasury. A case in point were the 10 per cent advances by FIBI and Danot 5. There was also speculative interest in the options of the "agreement" bank shares and these soared by as much as 15.9 per cent.

A full 38 securities were registered as "buyers only," while only eight found their way to the "sellers only" list. Even more impressive were the 135 issues which advanced by more than five per cent. Only 18 fell by more than five per cent.

Trading turnovers nearly doubled and exceeded the IS800 million mark. However, stock market sources report that the action was dominated by professional investors. The general public continues to maintain a wait-and-see attitude.

The index-linked bond market was also the beneficiary of broad demand, and prices advanced by margins of 3-4 per cent. The action was in sharp contrast to the selling wave which engulfed the index-linked bond market ten days ago.

There were varied explanations for yesterday's positive market performance. Some suggested that the share market has become more attractive in the wake of the commercial banks dropping the interest rates payable on shchel deposits. Others have suggested that the current rally is more of a technical one, resulting from oversold conditions, rather than a result of clear change in trend.

Regardless of the real reasons behind the rally, it left most observers encouraged that there is

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENTHAU

room for further advances before profit-taking takes place.

Mortgage bank securities fully participated in the rally. Gains of up to 10 per cent were recorded by Adanim, Tefahot ordinary and Merav.

The same pattern evolved in the specialized financial institution group. Shiloh was 6.3 per cent higher, while its option put in an exceptional performance and soared by no less than 39.7 per cent.

Zion Holdings \$1, with a 14.8 per cent advance, led a strongly rising insurance sector. Hassneh and Aryeh chipped in with 10 per cent advances. The only notable loser was Phoenix 0.5, whose price sagged by 9.9 per cent.

The service and trade group came through with similar price gains. Advances of up to ten per cent were chalked up. The computer group maintained its recent weak posture. Nevertheless, Clal Computers grabbed an 8.5 per cent gain.

Demand for land development, real estate and citrus plantation issues resulted in across-the-board gains. Property and Building was ten per cent higher. Amnionim was one of the few losers as it declined by 16.6 per cent.

Industrials also surged ahead. The gains were equally distributed among the high-quality and secondary issues. Man, both the 1 and 5 shares, was 10 per cent better.

The Ata option debuted yesterday and an offer of IS27.3 million nominal value was enough to drop it for a 45.3 per cent fall, from its base price of 53 to 29.

Pogiat 0.1 was 5.5 per cent lower. The company reported that it had cut down its production to a five-day week. Israel Can picked up 3.4 per cent, while the 5 shares were 10 per cent higher.

In the high-technology group Ariz was 3.7 per cent higher. Elbit was unchanged, while Elron edged 2.1 per cent higher.

The Spectronix shares were both ahead by ten per cent. The Rim Furniture shares responded to demand but could not be traded and both the 0.1 and 0.4 issues were on the buyers "only list." Clal Industries gained 9.9 per cent.

Investment company shares were sharply higher and the advances were only exceeded by the bank group.

Ten per cent gains were carved out by Israel Corporation I, Elern bearer, Discount Investments, registered and bearer, Clal Investments 10, Investments of Paz, and Galil Technology.

Renewed interest in oil issues pushed their prices higher.

Pratarom was established as "buyers only" for the second consecutive session and will trade today without any price restraints.

Landeco 0.1 and 0.5 shares, by contrast, were "sellers only" for the second consecutive session.

Most active stocks

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| Leumi | 1815 | 278,070.7m. | +150 |
| Hapoalim r | 2860 | 86,366.3m. | +190 |
| Mizrahi r | 1730 | 86,321.6m. | +110 |
| Shiloh | 1730 | 18,600.0m. | +110 |
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Mar-Haim appointment

TEL AVIV. — Amos Mar-Haim, who resigned as director-general of the Ministry of Industry and Trade in 1979 and has since filled executive posts in several industrial concerns, will take up his appointment as general manager of the industrial division in Clal on April 1. He replaces Zvi Zur, who will become deputy general manager of Clal Israel.

FAIRS ABROAD. — The ITEX exhibition services company has published a booklet listing 1,000 fairs and exhibitions to be held abroad this year.

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| Arish 0.4 | 499 | +39 | +8.5 | |
| Arish 0.5 | 125 | 29 | +16 | +7.6 |
| Arish 0.6 | 112 | 105 | +2 | +1.8 |
| Arish 0.7 | 358 | 252 | +3 | +10.2 |
| Arish 0.8 | 115 | 212 | +10 | +9.5 |
| Arish 0.9 | 90 | 24 | +6 | +6.6 |
| Arish 1.0 | 219 | 27 | +24 | +9.9 |
| Arish 1.1 | 515 | 17 | +2 | +0.8 |
| Arish 1.2 | 511 | 9 | n.c. | |
| Arish 1.3 | 618 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Arish 1.4 | 215 | 1 | +13 | +6.4 |
| Arish 1.5 | 93 | 18 | +12 | +13.0 |
| Arish 1.6 | 43 | 12 | +2 | +4.7 |
| Arish 1.7 | 1135 | 16 | n.c. | |
| Arish 1.8 | 223 | 36 | n.c. | |
| Arish 1.9 | 1370 | 11 | +10 | +7.2 |
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| 5 years | 3.4200/00 | per \$ |
| 6 years | 3.6650/00 | per \$ |
| 7 years | 3.9100/00 | per \$ |
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| 9 years | 4.4000/00 | per \$ |
| 10 years | 4.6450/00 | per \$ |

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Art Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

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Beirut bedlam

THE FIERCE fighting between units of the Lebanese army and Shi'ite and Druse militiamen in Beirut and Zahle began to die down yesterday.

But the latest crisis in the short and fragile life of the Jemayel government, occasioned by the resignations of Premier Shafik Wazzan and three fellow Moslem ministers, was nowhere over. Although Mr. Wazzan has submitted his resignation more than once before, only to take it back at the president's request, this time he was in earnest.

Mr. Wazzan's action was significant because it reflected not only Syrian pressure but, more immediately, internal pressure by the Lebanese opposition, which seems to account for a majority of the nation.

It is not certain to what extent the target of all this pressure is Amin Jemayel himself. True, last week Druse leader Walid Jumblatt made it plain he saw no hope of ever striking a deal with Mr. Jemayel, and on one occasion he openly called on him to resign. The Syrians, however, may be content to let the president go on, as the symbol of current legitimacy in Lebanon, provided he makes a complete political about-turn.

Above all the Syrians insist on the scrapping of the May 17 agreement between Lebanon and Israel.

Damascus is obviously anxious to deny Israel any formal advantages from Operation Peace for Galilee, while maintaining those that accrue to Syria in Lebanon. It wants the IDF — and the U.S. Marines — out of Lebanon before their own troops leave it, if they do. Mr. Jemayel has so far resisted the Syrian demands, at least for the record. But he may, sooner or later, if he stays at his post, buckle.

His weakness in the face of the Syrian steamroller arises not only from the armed strength it represents, but from the political strength of the other communities who have become increasingly critical of Mr. Jemayel.

Fundamentally, what the Shi'ites and the Druse are asking for is political equality and social justice — or a larger share in the governance of Lebanon and in the material benefits it makes available. That is something which Mr. Jemayel and his constituency are loath to grant. And this has created such a background of suspicion and distrust as to make specific, and even limited, agreements that would allow the differing communities to begin to reconcile their differences, virtually impossible.

In an effort to stifle Congressional clamour for an early withdrawal of the Marines from Beirut, President Reagan has argued that popular support for the Jemayel regime is broadening. If this were true, a premature pullback of the Marines could indeed be portrayed as giving in to nothing better than Syrian-inspired terror. Unfortunately, there is no evidence whatever of any such broadening of support.

To prop up the present Lebanese government, the U.S. would therefore have not only to keep its forces in that country but to beef them up considerably. This, apparently, it is not planning to do.

Israel too cannot bank on Mr. Jemayel stabilizing his regime by winning over his political opponents whom he seems to be pushing straight into the arms of the Syrians. Which means, logically, that in the end Israel too should find it more useful to deal with the Syrians about Lebanon, than the Lebanese themselves. Even if today the Syrians show little inclination for such dialogue, there is no reason to rule it out in the future, or to refrain from exploring all openings today.

WEST BANK POLICY

(Continued from Page One)

commented that Karp showed the complete final draft of her report to the police for approval at the highest level, before signing it and sending it to him.

The police document quoted by Burg is understood to have been prepared only after the Karp report appeared, and after the police came under fire for letting its investigators be crowded by the army authorities who protected some of the settler vigilantes.

The report will be released to the press tomorrow by the Justice Ministry spokesman, simultaneously with its tabling in the Knesset Law Committee. Nissim and Zamir are expected to attend the committee session on Wednesday.

In a vague and general paragraph which might perhaps be interpreted as referring to demolitions, collective punishments and deportations, the government policy statement said legal counsel will be sought before the authorities take any measures liable to have legal implications and this in line with procedures laid down by the minister of defence.

The aim presumably is also to ensure that the Arabs affected will not have grounds to seek redress in the High Court of Justice.

The opening paragraph of the policy statement emphasized that the law applied equally to Jews and Arabs in the areas and that lawbreakers would be prosecuted whoever they might be.

The army would be responsible for enforcing law and order, the government said. The police and the security agencies were there to assist the army, acting under the relevant military legislation as gazetted by the IDF commanders.

The police would be responsible for investigating offences according to their standard professional procedure, the statement said.

The paragraph relating to Jewish settler vigilantism said: "Anybody not a member of the bodies empowered to enforce the law and maintain public order, has no authority to assume the role of policeman or soldier. Any action he takes to punish or retaliate for a violation of law and order is an offence, liable to incur the statutory punishment. Nothing in this paragraph may be construed as ruling out legal action taken in self-defence."

With regard to shooting in self-defence, the statement said the prime minister, the minister of defence and the minister of justice would approve guidelines concerning civilians bearing IDF-issue weapons, control over such weapons and circumstances permitting the civilians to open fire.

The three ministers responsible for implementing the policy in the statements would be defence, interior and justice, the cabinet concluded.

Cabinet Secretary Dan Meridor said later it would be up to the courts to determine what was legitimate self-defence.

The paragraph about the police only being responsible for investigations was seen as an admonition to settlers not to interrogate rioters before turning them over to the authorities.

The reference to new guidelines about control of IDF-issue weapons used by settlers reflects what seems to be chaotic supervision in the past, when settlers switched guns and parts of guns after using them in vigilante operations against Arabs.

Accent on the negative

By Aryeh Rubinstein

IT IS no longer news when Likud ministers, coalition MKs, or their representatives on the Broadcasting Authority complain about Israel Television's coverage of the Knesset, often adding nasty words about a "leftist Mafia" that is running the TV show.

But last week we had one of those man-bite-dog cases. Television was taken to task by Israel Peleg, the Alignment's man on the authority's board of directors and spokesman for the Alignment Knesset faction.

At last Monday's board meeting, Peleg said that MKs of all factions had complained to him that TV coverage of the Knesset does not give a true picture of the work of the House in the plenum and committees, that it is superficial, and that it tends to highlight what is odd or scandalous.

Authority director Yosef Lapid promised to look into the matter.

To anyone who followed the Knesset's recent debate on its own work, Peleg's remarks did not come as a complete surprise. In that discussion, a number of Alignment speakers had some harsh words for TV.

Tamar Eshel was the mildest of those who dealt with this subject. She was not sure the Knesset had been wise, in opening its doors to the television crews in the first place, but having done so, it would do even more harm to turn them out now.

The solution, as she saw it, was for TV — and the newspapers, too — to inaugurate a weekly report in which coverage of the drab, bread-and-butter work of the Knesset would counter-balance "the natural temptation" to concentrate on the exceptional, the sensational, and the bizarre.

Mapam's Ya'ir Tzaban adopted an academic tone. The problem was an organic one, he said, and he had no complaints against the TV reporters.

"Why not?" someone called out. And Tzaban explained: The problem, he thought, lies in television's inherent limitations, its conciseness, its tendency to express what it regards as the main thing

that happened that day... Michael Bar-Zohar (Alignment): "What you say is not true."

Tzaban said he had once thought it undemocratic of some parliamentarians to bar television, or to restrict the cameras to the speaker at the rostrum. But now he could better understand the justification for such measures.

Bar-Zohar carried the ball further. "Why isn't television here today? Isn't this an important event (the debate being held on the Knesset's 35th birthday)?"

Then he answered his own question: "No. Today they didn't anticipate any hullabaloo, so they didn't bring their cameras."

TELEVISION had devoted two successive *Mabat Sheni* programmes to the Knesset, Bar-Zohar recalled. But it was all negative.

"They brought people from prehistoric times (former MKs) to prove that the present Knesset isn't doing its job. But not a thing about the hard workers in this Knesset, because that's not interesting."

"Why do they always seek out the 'show,' the tumult, in this chamber? Why do they look for the circus, the insulting epithet? Why don't they broadcast what is said in important debates?"

Bar-Zohar then related a personal incident. A TV reporter had initiated an interview with him.

When it was over he suggested that she do a re-take, with Bar-Zohar sharpening his remarks. Otherwise, the reporter doubted whether the interview would be broadcast.

"I refused, and it wasn't broadcast."

Then Bar-Zohar turned to the press gallery: "Those Knesset members who say that we shouldn't attack you are not necessarily saying what they really think. Because to a large extent we are dependent on you. That's the tragedy."

This "distorted symbiosis" between MKs and Knesset reporters had been discussed earlier, and at greater length, by one of the newest members, Nahman Raz (Alignment), a member of Kibbutz Geva.

THE LIMITATION of smoking in public places may moderately change the present norms of behaviour in public, which so far have not recognized the right of the individual to be protected from the damage and discomfort caused by inhaling smoke.

When our ancestors formed an organized society, they recognized that its existence depended upon the respect one member paid to others' liberty, property and above all, wellbeing. "Thou shalt not kill and 'thou shalt not steal' are not abstract divine commandments; they are a base for the mere existence of the community.

Research studies have proved beyond any doubt that inhaling someone else's cigarette smoke may

Live and let live

By Amos Hausner

cause the non-smoker severe diseases.

Even dividing a room, however large into smoking and non-smoking sections has been found totally ineffective in diminishing the health risks.

Consequently, smoking in public places has ceased to be only a matter of bad manners and has become a subject of law. Indeed, legal commentaries recently published in the United States claim that smoking in public with the knowledge that it is capable of harming others may con-

stitute assault and battery under the civil and criminal laws.

THE LAW for the Limitation of Smoking in Public Places, which became effective this month does not interfere with one's smoking habits as long as they do not amount to a public nuisance and do not endanger the health and comfort of non-smokers (or even of those smokers who wish to inhale only the puffs of their own cigarettes and only when they desire).

The Knesset endeavoured to find the golden path between the right of

Dry Bones



lack of substance."

Halberstam agreed with the interviewer (David England, in *Media and Methods*) that in sticking to the dramatic and the theatrical in its campaign coverage, TV had failed the public. At the end of this campaign, he said, "the average American citizen, will have no real sense of what the issues are."

HAIM YAVIN, who now covers the Knesset for television, last week

defended the tube against the criticism expressed by MKs and Peleg by saying that the 30-minute *Mabat* programme has so much to cover that it can give the day's news from the Knesset only two or three minutes.

But how come the camera always finds time to roam over those empty seats and to screen the rowdy exchange of invective and vituperation across the chamber? These are certainly part of the story, but they are repeatedly treated as the story. With nothing of the solid if dull work that nevertheless goes on in the Knesset, the public gets a distorted picture.

To his credit, Yavin did concede to Dan Margalit, in last Wednesday's *Ha'aretz*, that TV does not give adequate coverage to serious legislative business. He and Lapid discussed the problem last week, but Yavin's feeling is that the only solution would be to give the legislative aspect extended treatment. Owing to "production" constraints, this was something TV could not do.

But why not a weekly 30- or 40-minute Knesset report that would offset some of the warts that TV delights in? Tamar Eshel does not claim the copyright on this idea; it has been batted around for years.

Until television does something like that to redress the present imbalance, the Knesset would be completely justified in restricting the cameras to the speaker on the podium. This has long been the rule in a number of free parliaments. To howl "undemocratic" or "censorship" would be taking the name of democracy in vain.

Aryeh Rubinstein is The Jerusalem Post Knesset reporter.

the smoker to act freely in his own quarters, even though he injures himself, and his duty to honour the rights of non-smokers who wish to ride a bus or a taxi, listen to a lecture, participate in an open discussion, sit in a public library, or even be hospitalized, without the risk of injury to their health.

Parents must be satisfied that the lungs of their children, who are particularly sensitive to passive smoking, will not be subject at school to the hundreds of dangerous components found in tobacco smoke.

By giving the basic rule of "live and let live" a legal effect, we modestly follow the steps of other countries where the law against smoking is considerably more far-reaching. Forty-six of the fifty states of the United States have adopted similar legislation, or in many cases a much tougher one, long ago.

In Minnesota, since 1975, smoking in the office has been prohibited when non-smoking employees object to it. This law is strictly observed.

Last November a public referendum in San Francisco resulted in employees being freed of the need to worry about their health due to the unwillingness of their officers to extinguish their cigarettes when asked to do so.

THE FEW who still wish to keep intruding into their neighbours' lungs try to hide behind what they call the "inability to enforce the law."

There is no doubt that if all of us had been potential thieves,

pickpockets, or shoplifters, we would be better off without the laws making these acts punishable. Hopefully, we obey the laws not just because of the fear of punishment but rather as a result of our realization that without respect to the needs and rights of our neighbours and those of society itself we shall end up losing our own freedom and our ability to benefit from belonging to society.

Almost two-thirds of Israel's population are non-smokers. Most smokers are not only law-abiding; they are now also aware of the need to consider the non-smokers. The very few who will ignore all the above and continue to smoke in public places will probably encounter the same negative response to which all law violators are subject, not only from non-smokers but also from concerned smokers.

Here lies the real answer to the "ineffectiveness" argument. This law is effective and enforceable not because it is imposed by some brother, but because it is founded on the same principles of social co-existence as most norms of behaviour.

It is not that enforcement would be difficult; in most cases it will not be necessary. In the remainder the public itself will create the atmosphere in which the denunciation of the offenders will be automatic and a matter of routine even without the need for interference of law enforcers.

(The writer is the legal adviser of the Society for the Prevention of Smoking.)

READERS' LETTERS

FIGHTING ASSIMILATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Since I have been receiving *The Jerusalem Post* regularly, I have been reading that the Jews are complaining about assimilation, intermarriage and eventual disappearance of the Jews. The reason for all this assimilative process is none other than the secular education Jews have been receiving for more than a century.

Of course, Jews must disappear from the world if the synagogues are more social halls of ethnic identity than houses of prayer and learning. This illogical approach is like asking third or fourth generation Americans of Italian, Greek, German or Scandinavian origin to keep marrying their own and to keep attending parties and cultural events at their respective ethnic societies.

Without religion, there is no Jewish survival.

MANUEL A. CARTA, M.D.
Tampa, Florida.

REPUTATION ENDANGERED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Many years have passed since Mr. Flatto-Sharon became a Member of the Knesset by bribing some voters. Today, that seems like a petty offence, compared with the attempt to buy an entire party by offering to its members top spots in the Histadrut enterprises.

Even if the leaders of the Labour Party do not think very highly of the Knesset, they at least ought to care for the reputation of world-renowned firms like Koor, Tnuva, Bank Hapoalim, etc. Certainly these would be endangered by having in top positions men who do not have generally accepted views of what is honest and what is dishonest.

FRITZ STOECKER
Tel Aviv.

COMPUTER FOR C.P. CHILDREN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — We were very interested to read an article about Shaul Anvari and his computer in your issue of January 20. We had previously seen Shaul demonstrating on television, and also at our school. We are very impressed by the way in which the computer has become for him a means of communication, learning, and fun in his leisure time.

We are convinced of the possibilities of achievement that a computer can give to C.P. children and we, the principal and staff of Oan School, are frustrated by the lack of a computer for our 100 children, due to a shortage of funds.

RUTH CASSEL, Principal,
Oan School for Cerebral Palsy Children
Tel Aviv.

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